INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS: HOW NORMS RELATE TO INTERGENERATIONAL SUPPORT AND WELL-BEING

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation empirically explores the association between filial norms, the parent–child relationship, intergenerational support, and older parents' well-being, all in the Chinese context. Specifically, there were four questions of interest: Are filial norms associated with giving support to and receiving support from older parents? Does the parent–child relationship mediate the above association between filial norms and support? How are giving support, receiving support, and the balance of support related to the well-being of older parents? Do the parent–child relationship and filial norms help explain the relationship between intergenerational support and well-being? Data were taken from the family module in East Asian Social Survey 2006. Ordinary Least Square and ordinal logistic regression, factor loading analysis, and mediation and moderation tests were performed to answer these questions. Results largely confirmed the significant impact of filial norms and the parent–child relationship on intergenerational support and older parents' well-being. Filial expectations and patriarchy relate positively to both support received and support given, yet negatively link to older parents' well-being. Closeness and conflict within the parent–child relationship mediate the effect of patriarchy and moderate the effect of filial expectations on support. Closeness and less

conflict in the parent–child relationship are associated with better well-being among parents. Results show that filial norms by older parents were highly endorsed in financial and emotional support exchanges, but not in instrumental support exchanges, which shows a(n) change/erosion of filial norms. Financial security, endorsement of patriarchy, and the parent–child relationship are three proximate factors for older parents' well-being.

I dedicate this dissertation to my family.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Extensive research on intergenerational support and the well-being of older parents has been conducted in the United States and Western European contexts (Bengtson, 2001; Dykstra & Fokkema, 2011; Ingersoll-Dayton & Antonucci, 1988; Swartz, 2009; Taylor, 2011), focusing primarily on receiving support and far less on giving support. Few studies have been conducted in the Chinese context. Although empirical findings from Western societies suggest that giving and receiving support generally benefits the well-being of both the givers and the recipients (Ingersoll-Dayton & Antonucci, 1988; Swartz, 2009; Taylor, 2011), considering the potentially coercive impact of norms on intergenerational relationships (Cheng & Chan, 2006; Zhan & Montgomery, 2003), it might not be the case in more traditional countries like China (Liang, Krause, & Bennett, 2001), as the benefits of support are very sensitive to cultural contexts (Schans, 2008).

Norms were first developed as a form of social capital by Coleman (1987, 1988) and were later elaborated by other sociologists and economists (Furstenberg & Kaplan, 2004; Madhooshi & Samimi, 2015). Some sociologists have argued that norms exert

restrictive impacts on the behavior of support and thus affect well-being (Bussu, Detotto, & Sterzi, 2013; Cialdini & Trost, 1998; Putnam, 1995), manifesting the function of social control (Cialdini, 2007). In this dissertation, I took as a starting point constructing filial norms as exerting the functions of both social capital and social control over family relations. The goal was to understand, in the Chinese context, how filial norms are associated with intergenerational support and older parents' well-being.

In this chapter, I first theoretically construct from existing literature the functions of norms as social capital and social control in the institution of family. I then present empirical research findings on the link between norms and intergenerational support, the link between norms and well-being, and the role of the parent–child relationship in those links. Third, I outline the theoretical framework for the following empirical chapters. Last, I address norms in the Chinese context, as this dissertation is focused on the Chinese population.

Norms Constructed as Social Capital and Social Control

Definition of Norms and Family as Gemeinshaft

Norms are rules and standards that are understood by members of a group and that guide and/or constrain social behavior without the force of laws (Bussu et al., 2013; Cialdini & Trost, 1998). In other words, they are a collection of rules accepted by the majority, to the extent that changes in rules or deviations from the established model create a conflict that leads to the marginalization of those who have exhibited deviating

behaviors. Thus, norms not only facilitate certain actions, but also constrain others (Coleman, 1987, 1988), providing sanctions on those who fail to comply with the rules—in Bourdieu's words, "[shielding] the group as a whole from discredit by expelling or excommunicating the embarrassing individuals" (Bourdieu, 2011, p. 90). On the other hand, for those who endorse and abide by the constraints prescribed in norms, common expectations build in them trust and consensus-based social connectedness, which, in turn, contributes to the social capital of the group (Furstenberg & Kaplan, 2004). As Putnam (1995) put it, "Social capital such as networks, norms, and social trust could facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (p. 67). Thus, functions of social capital and social control are inseparably intertwined as two blades of the sword of "norms."

To highlight the role of norms in intergenerational relationships, researchers have emphasized the larger social context constraining family members' behaviors in intergenerational exchanges and corresponding health outcomes deriving from those behaviors. Tonnies (1957) noted that the family is a typical form of group embodying the concept of *Gemeinshaft*. Gemeinshaft emphasizes the normative primacy in social relations, and refers to those groups that are constrained by extensive culturally or socially reinforced behavioral and affective obligations (Bengtson & Roberts, 1991; Tonnies, 1957). Family members are constrained with normative expectations for their emotions toward, and interactions shared with other family members (Bengtson & Roberts, 1991). For instance, the parental role is constrained by the norm that one should

feel affection for one's children, and protect them, while adult children are confronted with filial expectations that they will visit and support aging parents.

Norms Predicting Intergenerational Support

Putnam, in his book *Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital*, defined social capital as "connections among individuals, social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" ((1995, p. 67). Also, Coleman (1987) defined it as "a stock of resources where individuals may later draw to achieve their aims." Family has long been considered a source of social capital. Consistent with Coleman's definition, Furstenberg and Kaplan (2004) saw the family as social good that creates through shared norms and a sense of common membership a stock from which individuals may draw in their efforts to achieve collective or personal objectives.

Filial norms may facilitate the formation of social capital (Gans & Silverstein, 2006; Silverstein, Conroy, & Gans, 2012; Silverstein, Gans, & Yang, 2006; Silverstein, Parrott, & Bengtson, 1995) that resides in family relationships. Filial norms help produce common expectations and trust in intergenerational relationships, foster a stable union within family, and presumably set the stage for efficient production of social capital in a much wider extended family system. Specifically, filial norms dictate the appropriate timing of, the amount of, and the appropriate sources/types of support exchanged between generations (Gans & Silverstein, 2006; Silverstein, Chen, & Heller, 1996). Filial responsibility is a latent resource that accumulates when parents and adult children

cultivate their relationships and provide each other with resources or services so that they feel obligated to reciprocate and provide something of value in return (Lin & Yi, 2011; Silverstein et al., 2006b; Silverstein et al., 1995).

Norms and Support on Well-Being

Filial norms are among the most powerful determinants of intergenerational relationships (Brauer & Chaurand, 2010; Cialdini, 2007). Norms are useful because they guide behaviors in ambiguous situations and render the reactions of others more predictable. Filial norms are positive, as they facilitate interactions among family members, and should contribute to better intergenerational relationships and family solidarity. They are also negative, however, as they direct behaviors by promising social control (Bourdieu, 2011; Coleman, 1988) for what is deemed to be morally inappropriate behaviors. Considerable research indicates that such moral evaluation from inside and outside strongly influences decisions to comply, even when the imagined others are not friends or family members but generalized persons (Brauer & Chaurand, 2010; Cialdini, 2007). Therefore, expectations regarding what most others approve or disapprove can be quite influential, and strong social control tends to produce feelings of resentment (Cialdini, 2007). In addition, in societies undergoing rapid socioeconomic transitions, changes in filial norms (e.g., divergent endorsement of filial norms across generations) or any deviation from the established model create conflict that leads to the marginalization of the parent–child relationship and the well-being of older parents.

To understand how filial norms expressed by older parents affect their well-being, researchers often take the behavior of intergenerational support exchanges as a medium substantiating the link. The benefits of giving and receiving support are sensitive to the expected support implicit in norms and values that dictate the appropriate timing, the amount, and the appropriate sources/types of support (Liang et al., 2001; Silverstein et al., 2006b). Negative emotion arises when support is delivered inappropriately according to norms. There is some evidence that expected support is more important than actual social exchange in influencing older people's well-being (Fryand, 2010; Krause, 1997), as expected support provides much information about the nature of the mutual commitments, meanings of the relationships, and normative expectations (Taylor, 2011).

Understanding culturally shaped filial expectations is crucial for understanding how adult children's actions of support are most likely to improve the mood of older parents (Silverstein et al., 1996; Silverstein et al., 2006a). In a culture emphasizing more filial responsibility and the tradition of patriarchy between adult children and older parents, as in China, parents might have a higher expectation of receiving support from their adult children. When the expectation is met, it greatly improves the psychological health of the parents. When the expectation is undermet or not met, as predicted in the continuity theory, the parents experience "negative feedback" from their adult children and feel socially isolated (Atchley, 1989; Silverstein et al., 1996). On the other hand, in a culture emphasizing more independence and individualism, such as in the United States, parents might have, on average, a relatively low expectation regarding receiving support from

their adult children. When their low expectations are met, there is an unexpected rise in older parents' well-being, with increases in the volume of assistance (Silverstein et al., 1996).

Parent-Child Relationship on Support and Well-Being

A good parent–child relationship is the most important support motivator (Brauer & Chaurand, 2010; Connidis & McMullin, 2002; Hamon & Blieszner, 1990; Stuifbergen, 2011), and close and intimate relationships have a critical influence on individuals' well-being (Acitelli & Antonucci, 1994; Antonucci & Akiyama, 1995; Kahn & Antonucci, 1980; Larson, Mannell, & Zuzanek, 1986; Lillard & Willis, 1997; Lowenstein, Katz, & Gur-Yaish, 2007; Merz, Schulze, & Schuengel, 2010). It is from the most intimate relationships and significant others that people derive support, self-definition, and a sense of stability and continuity (Kahn & Antonucci, 1980). As people get older, the intimate relationship with their adult children becomes increasingly important to the older parents' well-being (Acitelli & Antonucci, 1994). Intergenerational relations, as lifelong bonds, can be detrimental to older parents' well-being if they are characterized by negative or mixed feelings (Fingerman, Chen, Hay, Cichy, & Lefkowitz, 2006; Fingerman, Pitzer, Lefkowitz, Birditt, & Mroczek, 2008; Fingerman, Sechrist, & Birditt, 2013).

Furthermore, the parent–child relationship is likely to mediate/moderate the impact of norms on support and the impact of support on the well-being of both parents and children. The quality of the parent–child relationship represents the history of

intergenerational interaction and communication, and it accumulates and exerts impacts on the current and future intergenerational relationships. In better parent–child relationships, children are more ready to internalize filial norms and to meet the expectations of parents by showing sincere respect and love while providing support to meet their parents' needs. On the other hand, in less-satisfied parent–child relationships, children are more likely to behave with less respect, or even with reluctance and unwillingness when fulfilling their filial obligations.

A qualitative study conducted among the elderly in the Netherlands indicated that older parents tend to deny the obligatory nature of support by their children, as they value more highly the voluntary nature of support given to them (Stuifbergen, 2011). In addition, a study on Indiana mother–daughter pairs indicated that a better relationship moderated the negative impact of the caregiving burden on the adult children's well-being, while strong feelings of obligation were related to greater burden on the adult children's well-being (Cicirelli, 1993; Stuifbergen, 2011). Better parent–child relationships have been shown to moderate the effect of support on older parents' well-being (Stuifbergen, 2011), as those older parents who are net receivers in those relationships show better well-being. Also, Chen and Silverstein (2000) have evidenced that Chinese parents' satisfaction with their children indeed fully mediates the psychological benefits of receiving support from adult children.

The above associations between filial norms, the parent–child relationship, intergenerational support, and well-being can be visualized in the conceptual model in

Figure 1.1. The association among filial norms, the parent–child relationship, and intergenerational support, indicated by solid arrows, is empirically examined in Chapter 2, while the association among filial norms, the parent–child relationship, and support on well-being, indicated by the dashed arrows, is explored in Chapter 3.

Theoretical Framework

Research on intergenerational relationships has been strategized along divergent paths in response to the two perspectives on intergenerational relationships. One perspective is the intergenerational solidarity paradigm proposed by Bengtson and his

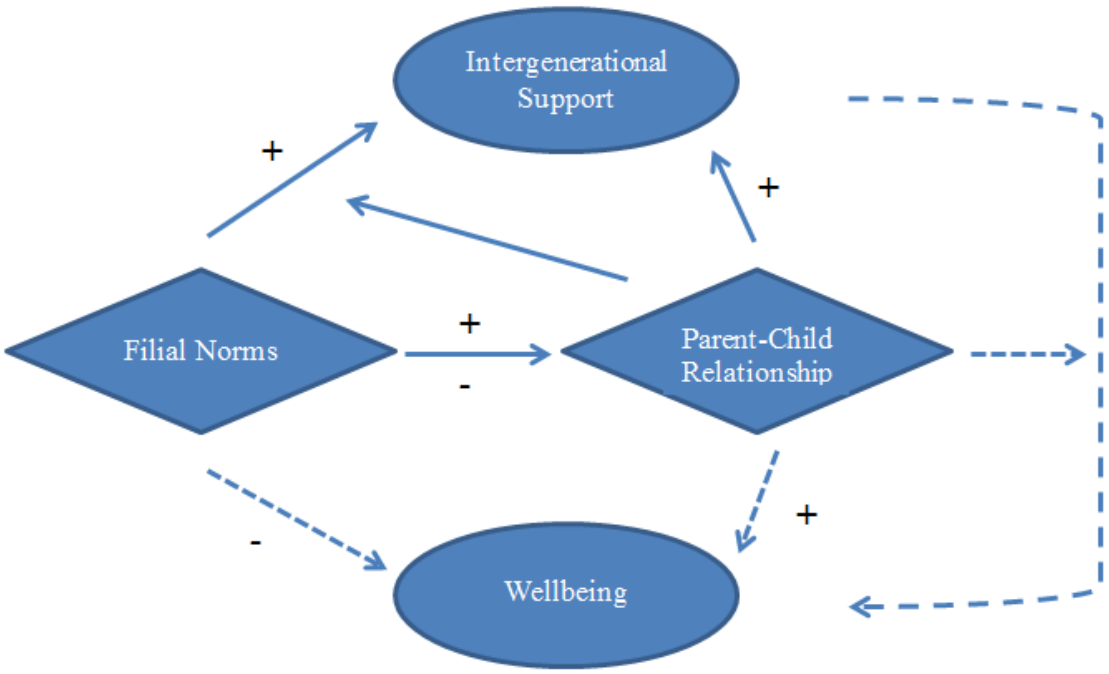

Figure 1.1 A Conceptual Model Displaying Associations Among Norms, Parent-Child Relationship, Intergenerational Support and Well-Being

Note: Solid arrowed associations are examined in Chapter 2, and dash-arrowed associations are examined in Chapter 3.

associates (Bengtson & Roberts, 1991; Lawton, Silverstein, & Bengtson, 1994; Roberts & Bengtson, 1990), focusing on intergenerational solidarity and contributing factors. The other is the ambivalence theory proposed by Lüscher and Pillemer (1998), viewing intergenerational relationships as a mix of both positive and negative emotions.

Intergenerational Solidarity Paradigm

Bengtson's paradigm (Bengtson & Roberts, 1991; Lawton, Silverstein, & Bengtson, 1994; Roberts & Bengtson, 1990) has been widely cited in empirical research on intergenerational relationships. The paradigm underscores the emotion, behavior, attitude, value, and structural arrangements binding generations (Silverstein et al., 2012; Silverstein et al., 1995). It is first proposed as a single, unidimensional construct, and later refined to a more complex relationship among the dimensions proposed. The six dimensions include: association (contact), affection (emotional attachment), consensus (agreement), function (patterns of instrumental support or resource sharing), norms (expectations of individual obligations to the family), and structure (opportunity structure for family interaction) (Bengtson & Roberts, 1991; Lawton et al., 1994; Roberts & Bengtson, 1990; Silverstein et al., 2012). Therefore, "it is axiomatic to the paradigm that any variable contribute to an increase in any one of these aspects contributes correspondingly to intergenerational solidarity as a whole" (Bengtson, Olander, & Haddad, 1976, p. 257).

Various propositions on the interrelations between those dimensions have been

tested, and the results are mixed. Filial responsibility has been suggested to contribute to affection, association (Bengtson & Roberts, 1991), and support (Roberts & Bengtson, 1990). One test using longitudinal panel data revealed that affection, association, and support between family members are core and mutually reinforcing dimensions of intergenerational solidarity (Hogerbrugge & Komter, 2012). However, other evidence indicates that filial norms link only to association, but not to affection or consensus between generations (Atkinson, Kivett, & Campbell, 1986). The paradigm is useful in explaining objective/structural/manifest solidarity (support, association, structure), but not subjective/affective/latent solidarity (consensus, affection, norms), and that these dimensions are not dimensions of one construct (Atkinson et al., 1986; Roberts & Bengtson, 1990).

In response to the mixed results from empirical tests and the criticism that the paradigm neglects negative emotions and behaviors (Bengtson, Giarrusso, Mabry, & Silverstein, 2002; Connidis & McMullin, 2002; Lüscher & Pillemer, 1998; Roberts & Bengtson, 1990), Bengtson and his associates (Bengtson et al., 2002; Roberts & Bengtson, 1990) further refined the intergenerational solidarity into a nonlinear-additive composite of the proposed dimensions, and the dimension of conflict (accounting for negative aspects of the parent–child relationship) (Clarke, Preston, Raksin, & Bengtson, 1999; Silverstein et al., 2012; Silverstein et al., 2006b), and concluded that the interlinks between the seven dimensions are not causal. The interlinks are yet to be determined; however, the incorporation of conflict is open to discussion, as the authors did not

elaborate on how conflict is structurally related to the other dimensions (Bengtson et al., 2002; Connidis, 2015), and additional evidence suggests that it could not adequately account for possibly contradicting elements of family life (Connidis, 2015; Hogerbrugge & Komter, 2012).

Norms in the Chinese Context

Filial norms and values prescribe the appropriate content of intergenerational support and attach meanings to intergenerational interactions, thus forming the most important context for intergenerational support and well-being (Roberts & Bengtson, 1990; Silverstein et al., 2006b). In Asian countries such as China and Malaysia, where Confucianism prevails, adult children are an important source of old-age security, which is viewed in part as children' s repayment for parental investment in their education and marriage (Lillard & Willis, 1997). The intergenerational relationship is a "support bank," and the relationship between older parents and their adult children is like the one between a creditor and a debtor (Antonucci & Akiyama, 1995; Ingersoll-Dayton & Antonucci, 1988).

Intergenerational support exchange is a product of both filial responsibility and economic necessity in China (Chen & Liu, 2012; Chen & Silverstein, 2000; Silverstein, Cong, & Li, 2006). Children caring for the aged is an obligation stipulated by law (People's Republic of China Elderly Protection Act, 2015), which highlights the societal acceptance of filial responsibility as mainly a family responsibility. The law stipulates

what types of support should be provided to aging parents during illness and in other needful situations, and that adult children should pay visits from time to time to their noncoresiding older parents. Those who do not support or respect their elderly parents and do not comply with a court judgment to correct their behaviors are listed as "discredited" by the national court system (Supreme People's Court of the People's Republic of China, 2014).

In countries with a less-developed aging care system, like China, reciprocity and mutual caring are central within intergenerational relationships during the whole life course (Logan & Spitze, 1996; Swartz, 2009). Although filial norms do not explicitly prescribe what older parents' should do when they expect support from their adult children, in a society emphasizing the value of harmony and collective family goals, contributions of the older parents to the welfare of their children's families fulfill the cultural mandate and are highly valued (Chen & Silverstein, 2000; Silverstein et al., 2006a). The ability to give support to the family allows the older parents to command greater respect from younger generations and to better secure claims to filial piety, which in turn, enhances their sense of purpose and self-worth within the family (Chen & Liu, 2012; Silverstein et al., 2006a).

China is also known for its tradition of patriarchy, which has been far less explored as to its impact on support and well-being. Confucianism, emphasizing respect for the old, dictates that son support their older parents submissively. Financial support and hands-on help must be delivered with respect and love, and older parents should be

honored and obeyed (Cheng & Chan, 2006; Mjelde-Mossey, Chi, & Lou, 2006). Norms of filial responsibility and patriarchy are suggested as affecting support and well-being differently, as they represent distinct psychological motives guiding interactions between generations (Yeh, Yi, Tsao, & Wan, 2013). Filial responsibility originates from lifelong close interactions that fulfill the psychological need for mutual relatedness between individuals, while patriarchy is guided by obedience to normative authority, and parents inevitably become role models who represent "absolute authority" during their children's socialization (Yeh et al., 2013). Filial responsibility is more equally and reciprocally based, compared to the hierarchy and asymmetric roles stipulated in patriarchy (Adams & Laursen, 2001); consequently, higher endorsement of filial responsibility contributes to more reciprocal support and better intergenerational relationships, whereas higher endorsement of patriarchy can engender conflict in intergenerational relationships and negatively affect older parents' well-being.

Endorsement of filial responsibility and patriarchy varies by age and gender (Stein et al., 1998), as age and gender lay the ground for the diversity of personal circumstances in the life course, which affects the ability to provide support (e.g., competing demands) (Gans & Silverstein, 2006). Endorsement of filial norms could be adjusted in an attempt to reconcile the gap between the ideal and what is possible or actual (Finley, Roberts, & Banahan, 1988) when respondents are confronted with varied intersections of life stage, historical events, and social environments (Gans & Silverstein, 2006).

Table 1.1 presents the mean scores for endorsement of filial responsibility and

Table 1.1 Means for Endorsement of Filial Norms by Age and Gender (*N*=3,207)

Respondents' Age and Gender			Filial Responsibility		Patriarchy	
Age Group	Male (N)	Female (N)	Male	Female	Male	Female
18≤age≤30	338	391	6.65	6.13	3.21	2.41
31≤age≤40	343	432	5.87	5.96	3.51	2.72
41≤age≤50	308	406	5.93	5.9	3.22	2.82
51≤age≤60	303	341	5.53	5.7	3.43	3.75
61≤age≤70	161	184	5.18	5.2	3.12	4.16

Note. Data comes from Chinese General Social Survey 2006(2009).

patriarchy in the Chinese General Social Survey 2006 (CGSS 2006, 2009). One-way ANOVA tests suggest that endorsement of filial responsibility weakens significantly as age increases among respondents, with no gender difference for respondents aged over 30 years. The difference in endorsement of norms across age groups could be due to one of the age, cohort, or period differences, or any combination of them; however, due to the cross-sectional data used for this dissertation, there is no way to distinguish between them. According to the available longitudinal analyses on norms, young adults represent an idealistic view of filial responsibility, as they are fresh from care and support by their parents and typically far removed from the need to reciprocate care to them (Guberman, 2003), and adults' filial responsibility weakens after midlife as a response to parental death (Gans & Silverstein, 2006).

In contrast, endorsement of patriarchy shows divergent gender and age patterns. It climaxes at ages 31-40 and 51-60 among males, while it grows as age increases among females and climaxes at ages 61-70. Endorsement of patriarchy significantly differs by gender among respondents aged 18–40 and 61–70. Table 1.2 displays the results of

Table 1.2 Spearman Bivariate Correlations Among Norms and Key Sociodemographic Features (*N*=3,169)

	Filial Responsibility	Patriarchy	Age (18-70)	Education	Perceived Family Economic Status	Self-Rated Health
Filial Responsibility	1					
Patriarchy	0.1***	1				
Age(18-70)	-0.09***	0.08***	1			
Education	0.05**	-0.08***	-0.4***	1		
Perceived Family Economic Status	0	-0.03	-0.13***	0.25***	1	
Self-Rated Health	0.04*	0	-0.3***	0.19***	0.07***	1

Note. Data comes from Chinese General Social Survey 2006(2009).

* $p<0.05$, ** $p<0.01$, *** $p<0.001$

Spearman bivariate tests on filial norms and key sociodemographic features. Younger people more strongly endorse filial responsibility, while older people more strongly endorse patriarchy. More-educated people more strongly endorse filial responsibility and less strongly endorse patriarchy. Perceived family economic status has nothing to do with the endorsement, which goes contrary to the previous finding that filial responsibility links to higher socioeconomic status (SES), while patriarchy relates to lower SES status (Yeh et al., 2013). Self-rated health links only to endorsement of filial responsibility but not to patriarchy. Interestingly, opposite to the previous finding that patriarchy is positively associated with males (Yeh et al., 2013), females show significantly stronger endorsement of patriarchy than males except for the age group 41-60. The data present no sign of decline in endorsement of filial responsibility across generations, but the sign of decline in patriarchy is pronounced, as more educated young people enter the

middle-adult population and gradually replace the older generations.

Research Questions

The literature reviewed suggests that norms should be predictive of intergenerational support and should influence well-being, as they have been theoretically constructed as exerting the functions of both social capital and social control. However, current empirical research based on Bengtson's intergenerational solidarity paradigm has largely failed to find consistent support for the effect of norms on support and well-being, partly for the following reasons: (a) norms examined do not prescribe explicitly the specific supporting behaviors (Furstenberg & Kaplan, 2004), (b) findings from Western societies indicate that the motivation behind giving and receiving support are different, as well as the mechanism accounting for their impacts on well-being (Brown, Consedine, & Magai, 2005), and giving and receiving support have separate impacts on well-being and their magnitude relatively net of each other (Schwartz, Meisenhelder, Ma, & Reed, 2003; Thomas, 2009); (c) endorsement of norms are frequently measured with only one set of questions or even one statement on norms (Chen & Silverstein, 2000; Gliem & Gliem, 2003), which largely ignores the potential multidimensional aspects of filial norms, such as reciprocal and authoritarian filial norms; and (d) studies fail to account for the interlinkage between endorsement of filial norms and parent–child relationships, and ignore the negative emotions in parent–child relationships and the consequences for support and well-being.

Thus, in this dissertation I aim to close the gaps by exploring the associations among two sets of filial norms (e.g., filial responsibility and patriarchy), intergenerational support (both giving and receiving support), the parent–child relationship (closeness and conflict), and older parents' well-being, taking into account the structured relations in China.

The research questions I propose to answer are as follows:

Q1: Are filial norms associated with giving support and receiving support? Does the parent–child relationship mediate the above association between filial norms and support?

Q2: How are giving support, receiving support, and the balance of support related to the well-being of older parents? Do filial norms and the parent–child relationship help explain the above relationship between intergenerational support and well-being?

Measures for Filial Norms

The question of measurement of filial norms is an important one. In China, filial expectation is more than an expectation of one's own children; it refers to the generalized normative expectation that adult children have the duty to support their aging parents (Irelli, 1990; Silverstein et al., 2006b). Among the literature examining the effect of filial responsibility expressed by older parents on support and/or on well-being, there are two basic approaches to measurement. The first is to ask respondents, in general terms, how

they think adult children should support their older parents. The most frequently cited study (in Western societies) using this method is one conducted by Lee, Netzer, and Coward (1994). The scaled items used in the study were adapted from the Hamon Filial Responsibility Scale (Hamon & Blieszner, 1990; Stein et al., 1998), and were later used in the OASIS (Old Age and Autonomy: The Role of Service Systems and Intergenerational Family Solidarity; Gans, Silverstein, & Lowenstein, 2009; Lowenstein & Daatland, 2006; Lowenstein, Katz, & Daatland, 2004) and other studies (Even-Zohar & Sharlin, 2009; Silverstein et al., 2006b). Items in Likert-scale questions include but are not limited to the following: (a) as many activities as possible should be shared by grown children and their parents; (b) if children live nearby after they grow up, they should visit their parents at least once a week; (c) grown married children should live close to their parents so that they can help each other; (d) a family should be willing to sacrifice some of the things they want for their young children in order to help support their aging parents; (e) older people should be able to depend on their grown children to help them do things they need to do; and (f) parents are entitled to some return for the sacrifices they have made for their children. Correspondingly, this generalized measure was used to operationalize the general terms, such as filial piety/filial norms/filial expectation.

The second approach is to ask respondents in individual terms how they think their own children would support them. Items in Likert-scale questions are more diverse, ranging from the above-listed specific filial behaviors to more generalized types of support (e.g., financial support, emotional support, nursing support, and daily life support;

Lee & Hong-Kin, 2005; Peek, Coward, Peek, & Lee, 1998). This individualized approach has been used to operationalize filial perceptions or personal filial expectations in empirical research.

The two approaches are not definitely divided, as there are a few exceptions that operationalize filial responsibility expectations in individualized terms (Dong, Zhang, & Simon, 2014) or measure filial perception in generalized terms (Schans, 2008). Despite the few exceptions, it is necessary to make such a distinction in measurement. The theoretical concern is with the extent to which the realities of aging parents' relations with their children match their ideals about the nature of the norms (Lee et al., 1994). As in individualized filial perceptions, older parents may expect little from their own children, considering children's problematic situations or the history of their relationship. Thus, measuring individual filial perceptions for particular children would not capture the general expectation of the filial responsibility as a norm. For this dissertation, the generalized approach was employed to measure both the filial expectations and the patriarchy expressed by older parents in China.

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation includes two empirical studies, presented in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, respectively. The literature review specific to each research question is discussed in each chapter.

Treating norms as a form of social capital, in Chapter 2, I empirically explore the

association between filial norms expressed by older parents and the support they receive and give in contemporary China. Intergenerational support exchange is comprehensively studied, including three major types of support (i.e., financial, instrumental, and emotional). The impact of the parent–child relationship is examined to understand its main and side effects on the above-noted association.

Testing norms' function as a form of social control, in Chapter 3, I aim to examine how parents' endorsement of norms affects their well-being. Similar to Chapter 2, two sets of norms are considered, namely, filial expectations and patriarchy. The parent–child relationship is also considered due to its inextricable linkage to norms in intergenerational relationships. The linkage between support exchange and the well-being of older parents is examined, and possible mediating/moderating effects by the parent–child relationship are tested.

In Chapter 4, I summarize the key findings from previous chapters, theoretical contributions, and realistic implications of this project. Limitations of the project and further study directions are also discussed.

CHAPTER 2

FILIAL NORMS AND INTERGENERATIONAL SUPPORT IN CHINESE SOCIETY

Filial norms exert persistent influence on intergenerational relations (Bengtson, Rosenthal, & Burton, 1996; Chen & Silverstein, 2000; Lin & Yi, 2011; Silverstein et al., 1995) across time and space (Gans & Silverstein, 2006; Merz et al., 2010; Shuey & Hardy, 2003; Silverstein et al., 2006b). In Bengtson's paradigm, norms (or expectations of individual obligations to the family) are one of the six dimensions of intergenerational solidarity (Bengtson & Roberts, 1991; Roberts & Bengtson, 1990), and studies suggest that norms are arguably predictive of other dimensions (Lin & Yi, 2011; Silverstein et al., 1995). Thus, whether filial norms are predictive of intergenerational support remains a debate unsettled. Bengtson and Roberts (1991) also called for research effort that "a logical step in the development of the paradigm is to examine the exchange dynamics in intergenerational relationships as relate to family norms" (p. 868). In recent decades, though intergenerational support has aroused much interest, studies examining how filial norms influence different aspects of intergenerational support (Lee et al., 1994; Silverstein et al., 2012), and how the influence varies across countries (Finch & Mason,

1991; Lowenstein & Daatland, 2006; Merz et al., 2010), are still limited.

The question becomes more complicate as filial norms can be endorsed to different degrees by different generations (Gans & Silverstein, 2006; Peek et al., 1998) and intergenerational support between parents and children can be either upstream (from children to parents) or downstream (from parents to children). Therefore, comprehensive studies are needed to fully examine the relationship between filial norms endorsed by different generations and the behavior of intergenerational support. The majority of research in this field to date has analyzed filial responsibility endorsed by adult children and what factors could help convert adult children's endorsement into filial practices of upstream support to their old parents (Silverstein et al., 1995; Gans & Silverstein, 2006; Silverstein et al., 1996; Silverstein et al., 2006b; Merz et al., 2010). The association between the filial norms expressed by parents (e.g., filial expectation and patriarchy) and the actual support they receive and provide remains largely unexplored. One reason may be that it is just the recent emerging trend for research on intergenerational support to pay attention to the role of filial norms and expectations (Lee et al., 1994).

Even among the numerous research studies exploring factors contributing to intergenerational support (Lin & Yi, 2011; Merz et al., 2010; Shuey & Hardy, 2003), fewer studies have centered on filial norms, parent–child relationships, and their interlinkages. The Chinese context offers an opportunity to explore the relationship between filial norms and intergenerational support (Cong & Silverstein, 2008; Guo, Chi, & Silverstein, 2013; Silverstein et al., 2006a). Although filial responsibility is strong and

pervasive in most societies, filial responsibility in China highlights the devotion of adult children to parents and the priority of family harmony over individual interests (Guo et al., 2013).

Literature Review

Filial Norms and Intergenerational Support

The association between filial norms expressed by children and their support to parents has been widely explored and the conclusion is relatively coherent. Researches generally agree that filial norms have positive impacts on intergenerational support, but with diversified degrees across sampled populations and across cultures (Guo et al., 2013; Lowenstein & Daatland, 2006; Merz et al., 2010; Peek et al., 1998). Some have suggested that filial norms remain pronounced in determining certain aspects of intergenerational relations, such as multigenerational coresidence and intergenerational support, despite other relevant situational or structural factors (Budak, Liaw, & Kawabe, 1996; Silverstein et al., 1995). Other researchers have claimed a weakened main effect of filial norms (Gans & Silverstein, 2006) due to the growing weights of situational and structural factors on intergenerational support (Bengtson et al., 2002; Chen & Silverstein, 2000; Guo et al., 2013; Silverstein et al., 1996; Silverstein et al., 2006a; Silverstein et al., 2006b).

Far less research has been done on the association between filial norms expressed by parents and the support they give and receive. Only through this association can we

reveal unmet expectations and explore further the possible health outcomes arising from it (Lee et al., 1994). Unmet expectations have been proposed by multiple researchers to account for the negative association between filial expectations and the well-being of older parents (Atchley, 1989; Lee et al., 1994; Merz et al., 2010).

In Western societies, there is mixed evidence on the argument that filial expectations expressed by older parents are predictive of intergenerational support exchange. Filial expectations of older parents are the key component of normative solidarity, which is defined as "intergenerational consensus on filial responsibility" (Mangen, Bengtson, & Landry, 1988). Evidence based on the U.S. population suggests that that there is a moderate level of agreement between parents and their children on filial responsibility expectations (Hamon & Blieszner, 1990), and strong positive correspondence between generations on filial responsibility could elevate supportive behavior (Silverstein et al., 2012). Filial expectation is suggested to be predictive of only the support *given* by parents, but not support *received* by them (Lee et al., 1994). On the other hand, filial expectation is shown to have minimum connection with support, or other dimensions in Bengtson's solidarity paradigm. Several empirical studies spawn by the paradigm have examined the association between normative consensus and support in the U.S. context, but found minimal correlations between them, as their research showed that objective/structural/manifest solidarity (support, association, and structure) and subjective/affective/latent solidarity (consensus, affection, and norms) were not dimensions of one construct (Atkinson et al., 1986; Finch & Mason, 1991; Roberts &

Bengtson, 1990).

In the Chinese context, both filial expectations and patriarchy of Chinese older parents have been associated with greater support exchanged between generations (Lin & Yi, 2011; Yeh et al., 2013; Yeh & Bedford, 2003, Zhan & Montgomery, 2003), but they differ in their linkage to the motivations behind the behavior of giving and receiving support. The tendency to receive support is more a function of characteristics of the family environment (Brown et al., 2005; Diener & Emmons, 1984), and receiving support is stimulated mainly by old parents' need and adult children's ability to give. Stronger filial expectations would stimulate more support to parents, especially financial and emotional support (e.g., companionship and closeness), as they are considered to be most needed by older parents, and financial support is considered a compensation for inadequate instrumental support to parents if living far away from them (Lee & Hong-Kin, 2005). Additionally, filial responsibility is also a product of economic necessity in China (Chen & Silverstein, 2000; Silverstein et al., 2006a; Chen & Liu, 2012), considering that the social security system is premature and there are few aging-care facilities. Aging parents do not have much choice but to count on their adult children. Due to the cultural heritage and social and economic realities, the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of the Rights and Interests of the Elderly (People's Republic of China Elderly Act, 2015) was introduced in 1996, requiring children to support aging parents.

In contrast, the proclivity to give support may be more a product of personality

factors, such as altruism, initiative, and competence (Hogerbrugge & Komter, 2012), and self-esteem, locus of control, and neuroticism are significantly related to giving support, not receiving support. In this vein, stronger patriarchy by older parents, which links positively to self-mastery and neuroticism and negatively to agreeableness and openness (Yeh & Bedford, 2003; Zhang & Bond, 1998), might predict giving more frequent financial rather than emotional support to adult children, while demanding in return adult children's obedience through more frequent giving of instrumental and emotional support to parents.

Parent-Child Relationship's Main and Residual Impacts on Support

A good parent–child relationship is a strong motivator of intergenerational support (Antonucci & Akiyama, 1995; Silverstein et al., 2006a; Stuifbergen, Van Delden, & Dykstra, 2008), and such a relationship is generally lifelong and highly rewarding for both members of the dyad (Gilligan, Suitor, & Pillemer, 2015; Rossi & Rossi, 1990). It is generally agreed that once formed, the quality of a parent–child relationship remains relatively stable, based on all of the interactions between generations in previous years (Antonucci, 1990; Gilligan et al., 2015; Lee et al., 1994; Pillemer, Suitor, Pardo, & Henderson, 2010). What older parents experienced in the past determines how they interpret the present and the future. The quality of their relationship with their adult children and expected support are proxies for the past experience of the intergenerational relationship (Stuifbergen et al., 2008), and generate lasting influence on both the

contemporary and future support patterns.

Although there have been many studies exploring factors contributing to intergenerational support (Lin & Yi, 2011; Merz et al., 2010; Shuey & Hardy, 2003), few have paid attention to the interlinkage between filial norms and the closeness and conflicts in parent–child relationships. The parent–child relationship matters with regard to the socialization and internalization of filial norms among family members. Whether filial norms are viewed as internalized norms that family members identify themselves with, or are perceived as simply some sort of social pressure externally imposed/enforced on family members, largely depends on the social path along which filial norms previously accumulated within the family (Coleman, 1987; Zhan & Montgomery, 2003).

The closeness and conflicts of parent–child relationships might mediate/moderate filial norms' impacts on intergenerational support, considering the parent–child relationship's weight in support exchange and the norms' coercive impact on the relationship. Internalized filial norms affect the parent–child relationship differently. Notably, reciprocal filial norms, such as filial responsibility or expectation, focus on maintaining harmonious intergenerational relationships out of gratitude or affection. Reciprocal filial piety is associated with satisfaction with interpersonal concerns (Yeh & Bedford, 2003) and contributes to the parent–child relationship, whereas authoritarian filial norms, such as patriarchy, emphasize hierarchy and obedience, and have been related to indebtedness to parents, impulse control, proper conduct, overprotection, harshness, neglect of peers' opinions and rejection of dissent, and inhibition of

self-expression (Chang, 2000; Ho, 1994; Yeh & Bedford, 2003). Thus, they likely give rise to intergenerational conflict and negatively affect the parent–child relationship. Table 2.1 presents *p* values from one-way ANOVA tests between filial norms and key parent–child relationship features, based on the CGSS 2006 (2009) data used in this study. Both means of filial expectation and patriarchy vary significantly across different levels of quarrels between parents and children. The stronger endorsement of filial expectation, the lower frequency of quarrel. Whereas the stronger endorsement of patriarchy, the higher frequency of quarrels, and the greater distance between parents' living place and that of their most contacted adult children. This confirms previous findings on the linkage between filial expectation, patriarchy, and parent-child conflict.

Method

Research Objectives and Hypotheses

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate, in contemporary China, whether filial expectation and patriarchy expressed by parents are associated with intergenerational

Table 2.1 P Values From One-Way ANOVA Tests Between Norms and Key Parent-Child Features (*N*=875)

	Region Urban v. rural	Marital Status	Paired Gender	Proximity	Relationship	Quarrel
Filial Expectation	**0.06(+)**	0.78	0.68	0.9	0.35	**0.01(-)**
Patriarchy	0.3	0.48	0.15	**0.02(+)**	0.53	**0(+)**

Note. Numbers in bold are significant correlations, with direction of correlations in parentheses. Data comes from CGSS 2006 (2009).

support (both support given and support received), and the role of parent-child relationship in the association.

It should be noted that most previous research on intergenerational support has examined a single aspect of support, such as financial or instrumental support. In this chapter, three major types of intergenerational support—namely financial, instrumental, and emotional support—are investigated. I propose to answer the following three questions:

Q1: Are filial norms associated with support given and support received?

Q2: Do these associations, if observed, differ across three different types of support?

Q3: Is the parent–child relationship (both closeness and conflict) a mediator of the link between filial norms and support (if observed)?

Corresponding hypotheses are:

H1: Filial expectation expressed by parents (reciprocal filial norms) is positively associated with financial and emotional support received by them. Patriarchy (authoritarian filial norms) is associated with more financial support to and instrumental support from adult children.

H2: Among financial, instrumental, and emotional support received, the predictive power of filial expectation is least strong on instrumental support received, while patriarchy is least predictive of financial support received.

H3: The parent–child relationship mediates the association between filial norms and support received.

To adequately test these hypotheses, structural solidarity (e.g., living arrangement and proximity) should be controlled. Intergenerational support often takes the form of coresidence or living close by, which offers immediate and continuous interactions with a long-term commitment. Thus, proximity to the most-contacted adult child is controlled.

Sample

The sample was from the cross-sectional Chinese General Social Survey (CGSS 2006, 2009), which contains five modules for both urban and rural populations: (a) background information; (b)work experience; (c) current working conditions; (d) marriage, family, and socioeconomic activities; and (e) attitude and evaluation. The CGSS 2006 was collected by All China Strategic Research, with a four-stage probability-proportional-to-size sampling method. The survey was conducted with face-to-face interviews or directly filled out by respondents (CGSS 2006, 2009; East Asian Social Survey [EASS], 2009). The family module was incorporated into CGSS in 2006, as projected by the EASS, and distributed to 38.5% of all respondents. In total, 3,207 respondents answered the family module.

CGSS data includes only individual respondents aged between 18 and 70 years. Each respondent was given the family survey about his or her support to or from the most-contacted child over 18 years (if he or she had one). In total, 1,058 parent

respondents aged between 50 and 70 years were sorted out for this study.

Measures

Ordinal least squares and ordinal logistic regression were employed to explore the link between filial expectation and support given and received.

Questions measuring giving support and receiving support were: “How frequently did you do each of the following to your most-contacted adult child for the last 12 months?” and “How frequently did your most-contacted adult child do each of the following to you for the last 12 months?”: (a) financial support, (b) instrumental support (household chores, preparing meals, shopping, caring for grandchildren, or other errands), and (c) emotional support. Respondents rated each type of support on a 5-point Likert-type scale: 1 = very frequently, 2 = often, 3 = sometimes, 4 = seldom, 5 = not at all. The scale was reversed to reflect higher frequency with a bigger number: 1 = not at all, 2 = seldom, 3 = sometimes, 4 = frequently, and 5 = very frequently. Thus, for each type of support, there were measures of support given and support received. A measure of total support given was created by adding all scales of three different types of support given, and a total of support received was created by adding all scales of three different types of support received.

Filial responsibility expressed by parents was measured by their agreement to the following four statements: “A married adult man ought to provide financial support for his own parents.” “A married adult woman ought to provide financial support for her

own parents." "A married adult man ought to provide financial support for his parents-in-law." "A married adult woman ought to provide financial support for her parents-in-law." For each statement, respondents were given a choice from a 7-point Likert-type scale: 1 = strongly agree, 2 = fairly agree, 3 = somewhat agree, 4 = neither agree nor disagree, 5 = somewhat disagree, 6 = fairly disagree, and 7 = strongly disagree. The scale was reordered and contrast coded as 3, 2, 1, 0, -1, -2, and -3, indicating both the level and the positive/negative nature of the agreement. Scores for the four statements were summed and then standardized to facilitate interpreting the regression results.

Patriarchy was measured by respondents' agreement with the following five statements: "The authority of the father in a family should be respected under any circumstances." "The eldest son should inherit a larger share of the property." "A child who has taken good care of his or her parents should inherit a larger share of the property." "If a husband's family and a wife's family need help at the same time, a married woman should help her husband's family first." "One must put familial well-being and interests before one's own." For each statement, respondents were given a choice from a 7-point Likert-type scale: 1 = strongly agree, 2 = fairly agree, 3 = somewhat agree, 4 = neither agree nor disagree, 5 = somewhat disagree, 6 = fairly disagree, and 7 = strongly disagree. The scale was reordered and contrast coded as 3, 2, 1, 0, -1, -2, and -3, indicating both the level and the positive/negative nature of the agreement. Scores for the five statements were summed and then standardized to facilitate interpreting the regression results.

Covariates included sociodemographic features and the parent–child relationship. Sociodemographic features included age, education, perceived relative family income, self-rated health, marital status, gender of both the parent respondent and the most-contacted adult child, region, and proximity to the child. To avoid multicollinearity and construct parsimonious models, all demographic measures were dichotomized or trichotomized.

Parent respondents were divided into two age groups: 0 = those aged 50 years and over and less than 60 years; 1 = those aged 60 years and over. Education was measured in years. Socioeconomic status (SES) was measured by a question asking, “Which level does your family belong to in terms of your family socioeconomic status?” Possible responses were: 1= upper level, 2 = upper-middle level, 3 = middle level, 4 = lower-middle level, 5 = lower level. SES was thus named “perceived relative family income” and dichotomized as: 0 = lower, collapsed from Levels 4 and 5; and 1 = middle and upper, collapsed from Levels 1, 2, and 3. Self-rated health originally included five levels and dichotomized as: 0 = not good and 1 = good.

The original six categories of marital status were dichotomized between married and unmarried; that is, those never married, divorced, widowed, cohabitated, and currently separated were recoded as unmarried. Region included: 0 = urban and 1 = rural. Gender was binary: 0 = male and 1 = female. Proximity with the child included: 0= coreside with the child, 1 = lived within 30 min of taking a bus/driving a car with the child, and 2 = beyond 30 min of taking a bus/driving a car with the child.

Measures indicating closeness within the parent–child relationship were trichotomized. Less than 5% of parents reported a "very bad," "bad," or "so–so" relationship with their most-contacted adult child. Thus, those three categories were collapsed and recoded as "not good." The quality of the relationship with the most-contacted child included: 1 = not good, 2 = good, and 3 = very good.

Conflict in the parent–child relationship was measured with the question, "Did you have quarrels with your most-contacted adult child in the last 12 months? Possible responses were: 1= very frequently, 2 = frequently, 3 = sometimes, 4 = seldom, and 5 = not at all. As fewer than 2% of respondents fell under the first two categories, they were collapsed and merged with the third category. Thus, conflict included three categories after reversing the order: 1 = not at all, 2 = seldom, and 3 = sometimes/often.

Data were sometimes missing when identifying information on the most-contacted adult child. Some of them could not be identified as to gender (4.3%), distance from the parent respondent (9.8%), quality of the relationship between the parent and the child (2.7%), and the support given and received (4.6%~7.7%). As a result, only 875 out of the 1,058 parent respondents showed no missing data across all variables.

Results

In this section, I first summarize the descriptive statistics in Tables 2.2 and 2.3. Then, I describe how filial norms affect support given and support received. Finally, the role of parent-child relationship is discussed.

Table 2.2 Dependent Variables and Key Independent Variables in Regression Analyses (*N*=875)

Variables	*Mean*	*SD*	*Score Range and Coding*	*Factor Loading*	*Alpha Coefficient*
Dependent Variables					
Support Given	7.76	2.63	3 to 15, based on the summed score for the following three items		0.59
			1 Financial support: 1=not at all, 2= seldom, 3= sometimes, 4= frequently, 5= very frequently	0.62	
			2 Instrumental support: 1=not at all, 2= seldom, 3= sometimes, 4= frequently, 5= very frequently	0.79	
			3 Emotional support: 1=not at all, 2= seldom, 3= sometimes, 4= frequently, 5= very frequently	0.82	
Support Received	8.04	2.52	3 to 15, based on the summed score for the following 3 items		0.69
			1 Financial support: 1=not at all, 2= seldom, 3= sometimes, 4= frequently, 5= very frequently	0.64	
			2 Instrumental support: 1=not at all, 2= seldom, 3= sometimes, 4= frequently, 5= very frequently	0.88	
			3 Emotional support: 1=not at all, 2= seldom, 3= sometimes, 4= frequently, 5= very frequently	0.83	
Financial Support Given	2.18	1.18	1= not at all, 2= seldom, 3= sometimes, 4= frequently, 5= very frequently		
Financial Support Received	2.68	1.14	1= not at all, 2= seldom, 3= sometimes, 4= frequently, 5= very frequently		
Instrumental Support Given	2.76	1.31	1= not at all, 2= seldom, 3= sometimes, 4= frequently, 5= very frequently		
Instrumental Support Received	2.61	1.07	1= not at all, 2= seldom, 3= sometimes, 4= frequently, 5= very frequently		
Emotional Support Given	2.81	1.03	1= not at all, 2= seldom, 3= sometimes, 4= frequently, 5= very frequently		
Emotional Support Received	2.75	1	1= not at all, 2= seldom, 3= sometimes, 4= frequently, 5= very frequently		
Key Independent Variables					
Filial Expectation		1	1 Married adult man ought to provide financial support for his own parents.	0.86	0.91
			2 Married adult woman ought to provide financial support for her own parents.	0.89	
			3 Married adult man ought to provide financial support for his parents-in-law.	0.91	
			4 Married adult woman ought to provide financial support for her parents-in-law.	0.9	
Patriarchy		1	1 The authority of father in a family should be respected under any circumstances.	0.45	0.66
			2 The eldest son should inherit a larger share of the property.	0.49	
			3 A child who has taken good care of parents should inherit a larger share of the property.	0.48	
			4 If husband's family and wife's family need help at the same time, a married woman should help husband's family first.	0.64	
			5 One must put familial well-being and interest before one's own.	0.52	

Table 2.3 Sample Statistics of Covariates

Variables	*Mean*	*SD*	*Score Range and Coding*
Age group	0.40	0.49	0 50≤age<60, 1 60≤age≤70
Education	6.28	4.42	in years, 0-23
Perceived Relative Family Income	0.28	0.45	0=lower, 1=middle and upper
Self-Rated Health	0.61	0.49	0=not good, 1=good
Marital Status	0.90	0.30	0=unmarried, 1=married
From Rural Area	0.36	0.48	0=urban, 1=rural
Gender of Parent Respondent	0.53	0.50	0=male, 1=female
Gender of Most Contacted Child	0.37	0.48	0=male, 1=female
Proximity with Most Contacted Child	0.89	0.84	0=coreside, 1=within 30 min of car, 2=beyond 30 min of car
Closeness with Most Contacted Child	1.37	0.57	0=not good, 1=good, 2=very good.
Quarrel in the last 12 months	0.84	0.7	0=not at all, 1=seldom, 2=sometimes and often

Table 2.2 presents all measures of support used as dependent variables for regression analysis, as well as their factor loading and Cronbach's alpha coefficients. Alpha for support given was 0.59 and alpha for support received was 0.69. Whether total support given and total support received are unidimensional constructs is not a concern here; to examine them would present an overview of support exchange between generations. The measures are kept, and support given and support received for each type of support are also examined by ordinal logistic regression to present a closer scrutiny. On average, parents received support more frequently than they gave it. Parents were net receivers of financial support and of instrumental support, and balanced on emotional exchange with children.

Table 2.2 also lists the four items in filial expectation and five items in patriarchy, as well as their factor loading and Cronbach's alpha coefficient. The Cronbach's alpha coefficients are 0.91 and 0.66, with a correlation between them of 0.1. The internal

consistency reliability of the two scales is acceptable for the following regression analysis.

Covariates are presented in Table 2.3. Sixty percent of the parents were aged less than 60 years and 40% were aged 60 and older. On average, parents had received about 6.3 years of education. Sixty-one percent of parents thought that they enjoyed good health. Most parents (90%) were married. Seventy-two percent of parents perceived they were from families of lower income. Sixty-four percent of parents came from urban areas. Fifty-three percent of parent respondents were mothers. Sixty-three percent of the most-contacted adult children were sons, which reflects the tradition that sons should take care of their older parents. On average, most parents lived within 30 min' driving distance of their most-contacted adult children, reflecting the common behavior in China of adult children coresiding with or living close to their parents. Generally, parents maintained a good relationship and seldom quarreled with their most-contacted children. In other words, the majority of families in the sample fit the "tight-knit" family of Bengston's typology of intergenerational relationships (Guo et al., 2013; Silverstein & Bengtson, 1997).

Tables 2.4 through 2.7 display the results from regressions predicting the outcome of different measures of support. Two models were tested for each measure of support: a basic model containing only sociodemographic controls and filial norms, and a model adding the parent–child relationship. To answer Q1 and Q2, I examined the coefficients of filial norms in all of the basic models. To answer Q3, all of the additive models were

Table 2.4 OLS Regression Predicting Total Support Given and Total Support Received (*N*=875)

	Total Support Given		Total Support Received	
	TG1	TG2	TR1	TR2
Socio-Demographic Controls				
60≤Age＜70 v. 50≤Age＜60	-0.199	-0.284	0.426*	0.409*
Education (in years)	0.028	0.028	-0.008	-0.013
Middle and Upper Family Income v. Lower Family Income	0.299	0.289	0.322+	0.340+
Good Self-Rated Health v. Not Good Self-Rated Health	-0.121	-0.091	-0.328+	-0.400*
Married v. Unmarried	0.006	-0.03	-0.786**	-0.774**
Rural Area v. Urban Area	-0.412*	-0.396*	0.051	0.062
Mother v. Father	0.326+	0.287+	0.119	0.068
Daughter v. Son	0.296+	0.291+	0.791***	0.753***
Live within 30 Min Drive v. Coresidence	-1.832***	-1.811***	-0.727***	-0.763***
Live beyond 30 Min Drive v. Coresidence	-2.131***	-2.110***	-1.417***	-1.421***
Filial Expectation (standardized)	0.106	0.119	0.180*	0.194*
Patriarchy (standardized)	0.163+	0.131	0.289***	0.259**
Parent-Child Relationship				
Good Relationship with Child		-0.556		0.743+
Very Good Relationship with Child		-0.245		1.303**
Seldom Quarrel with Child		0.538**		0.262
Sometimes and Often Quarrel with Child		0.530*		0.471+
Constant	8.683***	8.783***	9.000***	7.961***
R^2	0.169	0.18	0.111	0.13
F	14.616	11.798	8.94	7.98

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Note. TG1=basic model predicting the impact of filial expectation on Total Support Given. TG2 =adding relationship to basic model TG1.

TR1= basic model predicting the impact of filial expectation on Total Support Received. TR2 =adding relationship to basic model TR1.

Table 2.5 Ordinal Logistic Regression Predicting Financial Support Given and Financial Support Received (*N*=875)

	Financial Support Given		Financial Support Received	
	FG1	FG2	FR1	FR2
Socio-Demographic Controls				
60≤Age＜70 v. 50≤Age＜60	-0.175	-0.218	0.373**	0.384**
Education (in years)	0.066***	0.070***	-0.037*	-0.036*
Middle and Upper Family Income v. Lower Family Income	0.108	0.076	0.218	0.214
Good Self-Rated Health v. Not Good Self-Rated Health	-0.135	-0.108	-0.097	-0.113
Married v. Unmarried	0.365+	0.329	-0.466*	-0.462*
Rural Area v. Urban Area	-0.241+	-0.219	0.123	0.137
Mother v. Father	-0.079	-0.087	0.125	0.132
Daughter v. Son	-0.03	-0.027	0.191	0.184
Live within 30 Min Drive v. Coresidence	-0.569***	-0.539***	-0.307*	-0.315*
Live beyond 30 Min Drive v. Coresidence	-0.431**	-0.404**	-0.302*	-0.292+
Filial Expectation (standardized)	-0.026	-0.015	0.152*	0.162**
Patriarchy (standardized)	0.146*	0.126+	0.1	0.091
Good Relationship with Child		-0.169		0.266
Very Good Relationship with Child		-0.145		0.299
Seldom Quarrel with Child		0.345*		-0.008
Sometimes and Often Quarrel with Child		0.462*		0.192
Cut 1	-0.267	-0.163	-1.868***	-1.561***
Cut 2	0.690*	0.803+	-0.918**	-0.608
Cut 3	1.829***	1.947***	0.606*	0.919*
Cut 4	3.956***	4.076***	2.812***	3.125***
Chi^2	58.382	66.424	41.611	43.727

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001 *Note*. FG1=basic model predicting the impact of filial expectation on Financial Support Given. FG2 =adding relationship to basic model FG1. FR1= basic model predicting the impact of filial expectation on Financial Support Received. FR2 =adding relationship to basic model FR1.

Table 2.6 Ordinal Logistic Regression Predicting Instrumental Support Given and Instrumental Support Received (*N*=875)

	Instrumental Support Given		Instrumental Support Received	
	IG1	IG2	IR1	IR2
Socio-Demographic Controls				
60≤Age＜70 v. 50≤Age＜60	-0.076	-0.11	0.238+	0.244+
Education (in years)	-0.038*	-0.036*	-0.004	-0.008
Middle and Upper Family Income v. Lower Family Income	0.153	0.135	0.113	0.133
Good Self-Rated Health v. Not Good Self-Rated Health	-0.097	-0.072	-0.356**	-0.437***
Married v. Unmarried	-0.243	-0.26	-0.375+	-0.365+
Rural Area v. Urban Area	-0.258+	-0.252+	0.017	0.032
Mother v. Father	0.304*	0.302*	-0.065	-0.104
Daughter v. Son	0.11	0.116	0.764***	0.746***
Live within 30 Min Drive v. Coresidence	-1.458***	-1.436***	-0.524***	-0.582***
Live beyond 30 Min Drive v. Coresidence	-2.001***	-1.983***	-1.478***	-1.516***
Filial Expectation (standardized)	0.081	0.088	0.036	0.054
Patriarchy (standardized)	0.069	0.057	0.263***	0.236***
Good Relationship with Child		-0.196		0.999**
Very Good Relationship with Child		-0.201		1.394***
Seldom Quarrel with Child		0.208		0.239+
Sometimes and Often Quarrel with Child		0.237		0.526**
Cut 1	-2.843***	-2.878***	-2.512***	-1.329**
Cut 2	-1.704***	-1.735***	-0.988**	0.228
Cut 3	-0.569+	-0.597	0.584+	1.835***
Cut 4	1.119***	1.089*	3.115***	4.393***
Chi^2	208.259	211.224	142.506	169.413

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001 *Note*. IG1=basic model predicting the impact of filial expectation on Instrumental Support Given. IG2 =adding relationship to basic model IG1. IR1= basic model predicting the impact of filial expectation on Instrumental Support Received. IR2= adding relationship to basic model IR1.

Table 2.7 Ordinal Logistic Regression Predicting Emotional Support Given and Emotional Support Received (*N*=875)

	Emotional Support Given		Emotional Support Received	
	EG1	EG2	ER1	ER2
Socio-Demographic Controls				
60≤Age＜70 v. 50≤Age＜60	-0.011	-0.072	0.204	0.173
Education (in years)	0.022	0.016	0.029+	0.02
Middle and Upper Family Income v. Lower Family Income	0.268+	0.286*	0.312*	0.356*
Good Self-Rated Health v. Not Good Self-Rated Health	-0.019	-0.032	-0.126	-0.221+
Married v. Unmarried	-0.091	-0.09	-0.480*	-0.485*
Rural Area v. Urban Area	-0.291*	-0.303*	-0.077	-0.078
Mother v. Father	0.316*	0.254+	0.162	0.089
Daughter v. Son	0.520***	0.501***	0.456***	0.425**
Live within 30 Min Drive v. Coresidence	-0.879***	-0.906***	-0.462**	-0.536***
Live beyond 30 Min Drive v. Coresidence	-1.051***	-1.079***	-0.786***	-0.850***
Filial Expectation (standardized)	0.145*	0.143*	0.143*	0.143*
Patriarchy (standardized)	0.055	0.042	0.132*	0.112+
Good Relationship with Child		-0.422		0.31
Very Good Relationship with Child		0.117		1.016**
Seldom Quarrel with Child		0.342*		0.219
Sometimes and Often Quarrel with Child		0.084		0.126
Cut 1	-2.240***	-2.408***	-2.416***	-1.974***
Cut 2	-0.850**	-0.997*	-0.773*	-0.29
Cut 3	0.956**	0.849*	0.960**	1.498***
Cut 4	3.292***	3.210***	3.442***	4.013***
Chi^2	98.366	121.47	70.478	104.649

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001 *Note*. EG1=basic model predicting the impact of filial expectation on Emotional Support Given. EG2= adding relationship to basic model EG1. ER1= basic model predicting the impact of filial expectation on Emotional Support Received. ER2= adding relationship to basic model ER1.

explored and tested for possible mediating effects.

As expected, filial norms exerted positive predictive power over both support given and support received. Specifically, filial expectation was positively associated with total support received (TR1), financial support received (FR1), and emotional support received (ER1) and given (EG1), whereas patriarchy was marginally positively linked to total support given (TG1) and significantly positively linked to total support received (TR1), financial support given (FG1), instrumental support received (IR1), and emotional support received (ER1). The more strongly parent respondents emphasized the filial norms, the more frequently they received financial and emotional support from their most-contacted children. The stronger parent respondents emphasized patriarchy, the more frequently they provided financial support and received instrumental and emotional support from their adult children. Although filial expectation and patriarchy both predicted total and emotional support received, they differed as to their impacts on financial support given and received, instrumental support received, and emotional support given, which shows the contrasted nature of reciprocity and authoritarianism. Thus, H1 was confirmed.

Among the three types of support received, filial expectation positively affected financial and emotional support but did not affect instrumental support. Recall that parents were, on average, net givers of instrumental support (Table 2.2), so whether parents gave or received instrumental support had nothing to do with their endorsement of filial expectation. Although parents' endorsement of patriarchy stimulated instrumental

support, patriarchy itself was declining across generations (Table 1.1). Thus, instrumental support to parents supports the claim that traditional informal support for older parents is changing or even undergoing erosion (Lee & Hong-Kin, 2005). In contrast, financial and emotional support from adult children remained strongly predictable by filial expectation, which showed no sign of decline across generations (Table 1.1).

The impact of patriarchy varied across types of support received. It affected the most instrumental support received, and the effect remained strong even when controlling for the parent–child relationship. Patriarchy's prediction on emotional support received lost power when adding the parent–child relationship. As expected, it had no impact on financial support received, as receiving financial support undermined the potential respect from adult children. Thus, H2 was supported.

Mediating effect of the parent–child relationship on the link between norms and support was also considered. A complete/partial mediation occurs when the effect of *X* (e.g., filial expectation) on *Y* (e.g., support) completely or partially disappears when *M* (e.g., parent–child relationship) is added as a predictor of *Y*. To detect a possible mediating effect of closeness and conflict in the parent–child relationship on the association between filial norms and different measures of support, regressions were run to predict different measures of support with only sociodemographic controls and closeness/conflict, and the results are presented in Appendix A (closeness as mediator) and Appendix B (conflict as mediator). Filial expectation and patriarchy exert significantly opposing impacts on closeness and conflict. Mediation is likely to happen in

additive models predicting patriarchy's impact on total support received (TR2), instrumental support received (IR2), and emotional support received (ER2). Also, mediation by parent–child quarrel is likely to happen in additive models predicting patriarchy's impact on total support given (TG2), financial support given (FG2), and instrumental support received (IR2).

To test the significance of the mediating effects, the Sobel-Goodman test was not appropriate because it could not be applied to categorical or ordinal predictors or outcomes. Instead, the binary mediation test was performed following the processes recommended by Kenny and Herr (2010), which can be applied to multiple mediator variables in any combination of binary or continuous, along with either a binary or continuous outcome. The tests on mediation significance indicate that stronger endorsement of patriarchy results in increases in total support given, financial support given, and instrumental support received, which could be partially attributed to its stimulating impact on the parent–child quarrel. There was no mediation by closeness of the parent–child relationship in the link between patriarchy and support. Thus, H3 was partially supported.

Potential moderation by the parent–child relationship (both closeness and conflict) in the link between filial norms and each measure of support was tested by interacting, respectively, each set of norms with closeness and with conflict in the parent–child relationship. Results (not included here) suggest that both closeness and conflict interact with endorsement of filial expectation in affecting support given and received. For

instance, parents with stronger endorsement of filial expectation would decrease instrumental support given in very good parent–child relationships; parents with stronger endorsement of filial expectation would receive increasing instrumental support if parents have quarrels with their most-contacted adult children. On the other hand, only conflict would interact with endorsement of patriarchy in affecting emotional support given and received. Parents with stronger endorsement of patriarchy decrease emotional support both given and received if they have quarrels with their most-contacted adult children.

Discussion

This chapter explores how filial expectation and patriarchy expressed by older parents are associated with support given and support received in Chinese society. Both basic models and additive models are estimated, predicting how filial expectation, patriarchy, and the parent–child relationship (both closeness and conflict) affect different measures of support, along with sociodemographic controls. Samples are drawn from cross-sectional the Chinese General Social Survey 2006 (2009). Based on results from OLS, ordinal logistic regression, binary mediation tests, and moderation tests, I concluded that filial norms are positively associated with both support received and support given, and the associations vary by type of support and by level of closeness and conflict in the parent–child relationship. In addition, patriarchy's impact on financial support given and instrumental support received were mediated, and its impacts on

emotional support given and received are moderated by parent–child conflict.

As expected, filial expectation exerts strong positive predictive power on financial and emotional support received by adult children from older parents, but not on instrumental support received. More support is a sign of filial piety. It highlights the continuous trend of filial responsibility being highly endorsed in practice (Lin & Yi, 2011; Yeh et al., 2013), but with change/modification in informal care (Ng, Philips, & Lee, 2002; Zhan & Montgomery, 2003). As adult children of rural and underdeveloped areas commonly migrate to cities for better career and life opportunities, it might be a challenge for them to satisfactorily fulfill their filial responsibility to meet their parents' expectations fully by coresiding or living closely. Financial support compensates for inadequate instrumental support by adult children (Lee & Hong-Kin, 2005), and empty-nest elders recently became a serious social issue (Zhai et al., 2015). As a response, the Law on the Protection of the Rights and Interests of the Elderly (People's Republic of China Elderly Protection Act, 2015) was amended, requiring those children not coresiding with elders to pay frequent visits or extend frequent greetings to the elders. Although parents generally are net givers of instrumental support, the exchange of instrumental support with their adult children does not link to their filial expectation. It seems highly likely that the exchange of instrumental support is demand-driven, and more adaptive to adult children's needs (Chen, Liu, & Mair, 2011).

Filial expectation mainly predicts support received instead of support given by older parents (except for emotional support given). The finding is contrary to what Lee et al.

(1994) concluded in their study, partly due to the difference between the United States and China in measuring filial expectation. The measure of filial expectation in their study was a bit tilted toward reciprocity, as it included not only what adult children should do for parents (weekly visits, living closer), but also what the parents should do for the adult children (dependence on children, and live closer to help each other; see Appendix C). The difference in measuring filial expectation highlights what Rossi and Rossi (1990) noted, that filial norms are better predictors of intergenerational support when the norms are applied to specific behaviors, contexts, and situations. This echoes some social psychologists' argument that strong attitude–behavior relations are obtained when the four elements—target, action, context, and time—highly correspond, especially the first two elements (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1973, 1977).

The effect of filial expectation on support can be moderated by both closeness and conflict in the parent–child relationship, as the moderation varies across different types of support. Interestingly, filial expectation by older parents has a unique predictive power over financial support received, and this power does not vary for better or worse parent–child relationships. The reality is that financial support from adult children to older parents is a mandate, which constitutes the "bottom line" of filial responsibility. In countries lacking reliable aging care and welfare systems, like China, the utility of intergenerational relations tends to be strengthened, and there is a higher standard for filial responsibility (Feeney & Collins, 2015).

In contrast, stronger endorsement of patriarchy links to financial support being

given more frequently and instrumental support being received more frequently. Although the linkages are partially mediated by parent–child conflict, the main impacts remain strong. This finding lends strong support to Yeh's dual filial piety model (Yeh et al., 2013) that reciprocal and authoritarian filial norms link to divergent parent–child relationships and contribute differently to intergenerational support exchange. Notably, endorsement of patriarchy is declining across generations, possibly due to its growing incompatibility with contemporary social changes such as equalized education opportunities and working status for males and females. Therefore, its impact on intergenerational support might also decrease as societies modernize.

This study contributes to the current research on intergenerational support in two aspects. First, it analyzed three types of intergenerational support given and received by older parents in China, which makes feasible a systematic exploration among norms, parent–child relationships, and patterns of intergenerational support exchange. Second, though the respective importance of norms and relationships has been recognized in some empirical research, their interlinkage has not been fully explored on intergenerational support. This study contributes to this knowledge gap. More empirical research is warranted on the linkage between other family related norms and the parent–child relationship, and how it contributes to intergenerational support. Research limitations are discussed in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 3

HOW SUPPORT PREDICTS WELL-BEING: THE ROLE OF FILIAL NORMS AND THE PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP

Understanding the relationship between intergenerational support and well-being has been a common area of focus for gerontology and family studies. Research on intergenerational support has found mixed impacts on well-being among older parents (Chen & Liu, 2012; Cong & Silverstein, 2008; Fingerman et al., 2008; Fyrand, 2010). Results from extant studies suggest that intergenerational support is not a unidimensional construct (Atkinson et al., 1986; Roberts & Bengtson, 1990) and its impact on well-being, to a large extent, depends on how support exchanges are socially interpreted within the context of the parent–child relationship, and how the support fits with older parents' norms and attitudes on familial roles and filial expectation (Brown, Nesse, Vinokur, & Smith, 2003; Chen & Liu, 2012; Gans & Silverstein, 2006).

The purpose of this study was to empirically explore: (a) whether intergenerational exchange of support between older parents and adult children explains the well-being of the parents, and (b) whether characteristics of the parent–child relationship (closeness

and conflict) and norms and attitudes about familial roles and expectations help to explain the potential relationship between intergenerational support and well-being among older parents. This study was conducted in the Chinese context, since most existing research was done in the Western context and seldom were familial roles and filial expectation simultaneously taken into account. Moreover, the societal norms related to family roles, relationships, and expectations are typically more traditional in the Chinese context, and thus may play an important role in the association between intergenerational support (giving and receiving) and overall well-being. Aging care is still a major responsibility of families in China. With the dramatic socioeconomic changes now occurring in Chinse society, declining rates of coresidence and growing uncertainty of intergenerational support have generated lasting impacts on both intergenerational relationships and older parents' well-being. Thus, the topic of intergenerational support has taken on an added importance in recent years.

Literature Review

Chinese Background

There is growing concern that the rapid socioeconomic development in China has generated a series of negative impacts on family structure (Chen & Liu, 2012; Lee & Hong-Kin, 2005). Young men and women have relocated from their birth places as the majority of them obtain a better education and secure better job opportunities in cities. Unfortunately, China does not have a solid old-age insurance system, and

intergenerational support within families is still the major source of old-age security and care (Chen & Silverstein, 2000; Cong & Silverstein, 2008; Silverstein et al., 2006a).

It is estimated that elders coresiding with adult children rated about 71% in 1984 and 67% in 1993 (Logan, Bian, & Bian, 1998), yet dropped to about 50.8% in 2008 (Lei, Strauss, Tian, & Zhao, 2012). The internal migration and declining rate of coresidence undermine the intergenerational support exchange (Chen & Silverstein, 2000) and the traditional way of maintaining intergenerational relationships. In tandem with the manifest change in family structure is the slower yet more profound modification—perhaps erosion—of traditional norms (Lee & Hong-Kin, 2005) of filial expectation and patriarchy, which are undermined by both greater distance between generations and wider intergenerational gaps in education and lifestyle (Chou, 2011).

Filial responsibility stipulates that adult children should support and respect older parents. Patriarchy, by definition, is the supremacy of male heads of households, the dependency of wives and children, and reckoning of descent in the male line (Hamilton, 1990). In ancient China, filial responsibility was closely connected with patriarchy. There is an old saying that "to raise sons is to provide for one's old age." Adult sons, especially married ones, are expected to take the responsibility to support the parents, while a married daughter is treated as "spilled water;" she is considered a part of her husband's family and should give support to her parents-in-law.

When situating the study of intergenerational support exchange and parents' well-being in such a traditional yet rapid changing society like China, empirical findings

based on populations in Western societies might not be readily applicable. Traditional norms of filial expectation and patriarchy still prevail in China, especially in rural areas. In particular, traditional norms stipulate the appropriate content of basic needs for older parents, attach meanings to interactions within the family, and form the most important context for the effect of intergenerational support on the well-being of older parents (Merz et al., 2010; Silverstein et al., 2006b). For instance, the intergenerational support flow is mainly from parents to adult children in the United States, whereas in China, due to the influence of traditional filial responsibility, intergenerational support is dominated by the flow from children to parents: children's support for their parents is more financial than instrumental, whereas older parents' support for their children is more emotional or instrumental rather than financial (Cong & Silverstein, 2012; Strauss et al., 2011).

Receiving Support, Giving Support, and Filial Norms on Well-Being

Generally, receiving support generates positive impacts on the well-being of older parents (Antonucci & Akiyama, 1995; De Jong Gierveld, & Dykstra, 2008; Silverstein et al., 1995; Stoller, 1985; Taylor, 2011), especially under stressful situations. However, negative feelings arise when support is provided to an undesired degree (Ford et al., 2000; Mjelde-Mossey et al., 2006; Newsom & Schulz, 1998), at an improper moment, from inappropriate sources (Cong & Silverstein, 2008; Wong, 2005), or in a disrespectful manner (Cong & Silverstein, 2012; Cheng & Chan, 2006). For instance, in the United

States, evidence has been presented on the possible negative impacts on older parents' well-being of receiving too much instrumental support (Silverstein et al., 1996), as excessive support might jeopardize self-esteem and undermine the norms of independence and autonomy (Brown et al., 2003; Liang et al., 2001; Mjelde-Mossey et al., 2006; Ryan & Solky, 1996). In contrast, research on receiving support and well-being among Chinese parents (Chen & Silverstein, 2000; Cong & Silverstein, 2008; Silverstein et al., 2006a) generally agrees that support from married adult children is considered reciprocal to what parents have invested in them in previous years, and it is a sign of filial piety if parents are oversupported by their adult children. More than that, filial piety stipulates that financial support and hands-on help should be delivered with respect and love, and older parents should be honored and obeyed (Cheng & Chan, 2006; Mjelde-Mossey et al., 2006). In this sense, emotional support sometimes is more effective than other support in improving Chinese elders' well-being (Cong & Silverstein, 2012; Silverstein & Bengtson, 1994).

While many researchers study the impact of receiving support on the well-being of older parents, giving support receives relatively less research attention as to its impact on older parents' well-being; empirical findings are relatively limited in China. Although the traditional norms have not explicitly stipulated what Chinese older parents should do for their adult children, it is commonly taken for granted that Chinese older parents take care of their grandchildren when the adult children go to work. Indeed, grandparents are increasingly important sources of regular and intermittent child care in the United States

(Swartz, 2009), Europe (Dykstra & Fokkema, 2011), China (Chen & Liu, 2012; Chen & Silverstein, 2000), and other Asian countries (Chen et al., 2011; Ku et al., 2013; Maehara & Takemura, 2007; Teo, Mehta, Thang, & Chan, 2006), yet the health outlook has not been optimistic for older parents who take care of grandchildren (Chen & Liu, 2012; Hogan, Eggebeen, & Clogg, 1993; Merz et al., 2010; Swartz, 2009).

Empirical findings from Western societies indicate that giving support to adult children builds up trust and intimacy, with current intergenerational bonds strengthened (Batson, 1998; Krause, Herzog, & Baker, 1992; Midlarsky, 1991) and the role identities reinforced. However, in China, giving financial support to adult children has proven to be detrimental to parents' well-being (Bengtson & Kuypers, 1985; Schwartz, Meisenhelder, Ma, & Reed, 2003; Silverstein et al., 2006a). Chinese elders have largely transferred their major assets to adult children when adult children get married; therefore, any ongoing financial support imposes a substantial economic and psychic strain (Bengtson & Kuypers, 1985). In addition, studies on cross-national comparison of intergenerational support indicate that the utility of intergenerational relations tends to be strengthened in nations with fewer public services or benefits (Silverstein et al., 2012). Without a reliable old-age insurance and service system in China, financial security among older Chinese parents still derives from adult children. Therefore, it is not surprising that receiving, but not giving, financial support improves the well-being of older Chinese parents. Research also suggests that older parents benefit more from exchanging what they have in relative surplus, which is not financial support but rather emotional support (e.g., motivation,

encouragement, guidance, companionship, closeness) with their adult children (Stoller, 1985).

Filial expectation has been proven to be negatively related to older parents' life satisfaction (Lee et al., 1994; Lowenstein et al., 2007) and positively associated with depression (Lee et al., 1994; Lee, Netzer, & Coward, 1995). One plausible explanation is that those parents who emphasize filial responsibility and patriarchy might have a relatively high expectation regarding receiving support from adult children, compared to those who do not put filial responsibility and patriarchy at the core of intergenerational relationships. If expectation is undermet or not met appropriately, as the continuity theory suggests, those older parents must cope with "negative feedback" from their adult children, and feel socially isolated (Atchley, 1989). Sometimes they may even feel guilt and blame themselves for the "inappropriate" behaviors of their adult children. In contrast, those parents who downplay the traditional norms and values are more likely to hold relatively low expectations for their adult children regarding intergenerational support exchange. When low expectations are met, there is an unexpected rise in older parents' well-being, with increases in the volume of support (Silverstein et al., 1996).

Parent-Child Relationship

Studies on intergenerational support have revealed that better parent–child relationships contribute to both the physical and psychological well-being of older parents (Chen & Silverstein, 2000; Merz et al., 2010). As people get older, intimate

relationships with adult children become increasingly important to older parents' well-being (Acitelli & Antonucci, 1994; Silverstein et al., 1996). Additionally, a good parent–child relationship is the most important support motivator (Antonucci & Akiyama, 1995; Silverstein et al., 2006a; Stuifbergen et al., 2008), and it has been posited as both moderating and mediating the impact of support on well-being. Those older parents who are net receivers in better parent–child relationships show better well-being (Stuifbergen, 2011). In addition, Chen and Silverstein (2000) have evidenced that Chinese parents' satisfaction with their children indeed fully mediates the psychological benefits of receiving support from their children. Notably, in these empirical studies, only closeness in the parent–child relationship has been examined as to its impact on well-being.

Both closeness to and conflict with adult children are important dimensions of the widely cited Bengtson's paradigm of family solidarity in family studies (Bengtson et al., 2002); however, conflict is seldom considered simultaneously with closeness in empirical studies based on Bengtson's paradigm. Indeed, conflict is a fairly normal aspect of intergenerational relations, and it affects the way family members perceive one another; this perception in turn affects supporting behavior and well-being (Bengtson, 2001; Giarrusso, Silverstein, Gans, & Bengtson, 2005).

Conflict in intimate relations, especially frequent quarrels, may be due to the following causes: (a) clashes of norms between generations, which were found to be a strong predictor of estrangement between older mothers and adult children (Gilligan et al., 2015); (b) tensions between interdependence between generations and autonomy of

individuals, especially on financial issues; and (c) relations or behaviors do not conform to norms or expectations (Connidis & McMullin, 2002; Swartz, 2009). Conflict can substantially decrease the effect of family support on well-being (Feeney & Collins, 2015; Lakey & Orehek, 2011).

Conflict might generate negative impacts on Chinese older parents' well-being. Studies have consistently found that parents view the parent–child tie in a more positive light than their children do (Fingerman et al., 2013; Merz et al., 2010). Parents are relatively highly tolerant of conflict, and value support from their adult children by trying to maximize positive effects and dampen negative emotions (Fingerman et al., 2013; Magai, 2001). Moreover, in societies in which positive relations between parents and adult children are normative, parents may harbor guilt for holding negative emotions toward their children; as in China, parents feel guilty, as they believe that it might be their responsibility if their adult children have done something against social norms. Therefore, it is reasonable to posit that in China, where filial expectation and patriarchy still prevail, especially in rural areas, conflict may predict negative effects on the well-being of older parents.

Method

In this study I aimed to answer the following two questions:

Q1：How are giving support, receiving support, and the balance of support related to the well-being of older parents in the Chinese context?

Q2: Do parent–child relationships and filial norms help explain the potential relationship between intergenerational support and older parents' well-being?

Three hypotheses were accordingly proposed:

H1: Giving financial support negatively links to well-being, while receiving financial support benefit older parents' well-being. Emotional support exchange also contributes to their well-being.

H2: Endorsement of filial norms negatively affects well-being.

H3: Closeness to and less conflict with the most-contacted adult child contribute to older parents' well-being.

Sample

The sample of parents came from the cross-sectional CGSS 2006 (2009), which contains five modules for both urban and rural populations: (a) background information; (b) work experience; (c) current working conditions; (d) marriage, family, and socioeconomic activities; and (e) attitude and evaluation. CGSS 2006 (2009) was collected nationwide by All China Strategic Research, with a four-stage probability-proportional-to-size sampling method. The survey was conducted with face-to-face interviews or was directly filled in by respondents (CGSS 2006, 2009; EASS, 2009). The family module was newly incorporated into the CGSS in 2006, as projected by the EASS, and distributed to only 38.5% of all respondents. In total, 3,207 respondents answered the family module.

CGSS 2006 (2009) is individual-respondent data, including 3,207 respondents aged between 18 and 70 years. Each respondent was given the family survey about their support to/from the most-contacted child over 18 years (if they had one). In total, 1,058 parent respondents aged between 50 and 70 years were sorted out for this study.

Measures

Logistic regression was employed to explore how older parents' well-being was predicted by intergenerational exchange of support, the parent–child relationship, and parents' norms and attitudes on familial roles and expectations.

Older parents' well-being was measured by a 4-point Likert-type scale that indicated how satisfied respondents were with their life: 1 = very satisfied, 2 = satisfied, 3 = dissatisfied, and 4 = very dissatisfied. The skewness of this measure was -0.67; thus, it was dichotomized into: 0 = not satisfied, and 1 = satisfied.

Independent variables included: (a) intergenerational exchange of support, (b) sociodemographic features, (c) endorsement of filial expectation and patriarchy, and preference for coresidence, and (d) closeness and conflict in the parent–child relationship.

Intergenerational Exchange of Support

Questions measuring the giving and receiving of support were: "How frequently did you do each of the following to your most-contacted adult child for the last 12 months?"

and “How frequently did your most-contacted adult child do each of the following to you for the last 12 months?”: (a) financial support, (b) instrumental support (household chores, preparing meals, shopping, caring for grandchildren, or other errands), and (c) emotional support. Respondents rated each type of support on a 5-point Likert-type scale: 1 = very frequently, 2 = often, 3 = sometimes, 4 = seldom, 5 = not at all. The scale was reordered into three categories: 1 = not at all, 2 = sometimes, 3 = often. Thus, for each type of support, measures of giving and receiving were trichotomized.

A new categorical variable indicating the balance of support was created by comparing the frequencies of support to and from the most-contacted adult child. Parents with a higher frequency of receiving support than giving support were coded as “-1 net receiver,” those with a higher frequency of giving support than receiving support were coded as “1 net giver,” and those with a balanced frequency of receiving and giving support were coded as “0 balanced.”

To summarize, for each parent respondent there were three sets of measures of support: (a) giving financial, household, and emotional support; (b) receiving financial, household, and emotional support; and (c) balance of financial, household, and emotional support.

To avoid the possible multicollinearity between the three sets of measures of support, logistic regression was run separately, predicting the effect of each measure of support on parents’ life satisfaction.

Socio-Demographic Features

Sociodemographic features were age, education, perceived relative family income, self-rated health, marital status, region, gender of both parent respondent and of the most-contacted adult child, and proximity to the child.

To avoid multicollinearity and construct parsimonious models, all demographic measures were dichotomized. For age, 0 = those aged between 50 and 60 years and 1 = those aged between 60 and 70 years. Perceived relative family income was dichotomized as 0 = lower and 1 = middle/upper. Self-rated health included 0 = poor health and 1 = good health. The original six categories of marital status were dichotomized between those married and unmarried; that is, those never married, divorced, widowed, cohabitated, and currently separated were recoded as unmarried. Region included 0 = urban and 1 = rural. Gender of parent respondent and of the most-contacted child was binary: 0 = male and 1 = female. Proximity to the child included 0 = coreside with the child, 1 = live within 30 min of taking a bus/driving a car with the child, and 2 = live beyond 30 min of taking a bus/driving a car with the child.

Filial Norms and Preference

Filial norms and preference were filial expectation, endorsement of patriarchy, and preference for coresidence.

The family module in CGSS 2006 (2009) provides multiple sets of statements on norms in an attempt to collect respondents' attitudes and preferences on family roles and

expectations. Filial expectation is measured by respondents' degree of agreement with the following four statements (factor loading and coefficients are listed in Table 3.1): "A married adult man ought to provide financial support for his own parents." "A married adult woman ought to provide financial support for her own parents." "A married adult man ought to provide financial support for his parents-in-law." "A married adult woman ought to provide financial support for her parents-in-law."

Endorsement of patriarchy was measured by respondents' degree of agreement with the following five statements (factor loading and coefficients are listed in Table 3.1): "The authority of the father in a family should be respected under any circumstances." "The eldest son should inherit a larger share of the property." "A child who has taken good care of his or her parents should inherit a larger share of the property." "If the husband's family and the wife's family need help at the same time, a married woman

Table 3.1 Summary of Factor Loadings for Measure of Endorsement of Norms

	Item	*Factor Loading*	*Alpha*
Filial Expectation	1 Married adult man ought to provide financial support for his own parents.	.86	.91
	2 Married adult woman ought to provide financial support for her own parents.	.89	
	3 Married adult man ought to provide financial support for his parents-in-law.	.91	
	4 Married adult woman ought to provide financial support for her parents-in-law.	.9	
Patriarchy	1The authority of father in a family should be respected under any circumstances.	.45	.66
	2 The eldest son should inherit a larger share of the property.	.49	
	3 A child who has taken good care of parents should inherit a larger share of the property.	.48	
	4 If husband's family and wife's family need help at the same time, a married woman should help husband's family first.	.64	
	5 One must put familial well-being and interest before one's own.	.52	

should help her husband's family first." "One must put familial well-being and interests before one's own."

For each statement on norms, respondents chose from a 7-point Likert-type scale: 1 = strongly agree, 2 = fairly agree, 3 = somewhat agree, 4 = neither agree nor disagree, 5 = somewhat disagree, 6 = fairly disagree, and 7 = strongly disagree. The scale was reordered and contrast-coded as 3, 2, 1, 0, -1, -2, and -3, indicating both the level and the positive/negative nature of agreement.

Respondents' agreements with each statement were summed to a score. Thus, each respondent ended up with two scores, indicating his or her degree of endorsement of the norms of filial responsibility by married children and patriarchy, respectively. The two scores were then each dichotomized into 0 = overall negative endorsement and 1 = overall positive endorsement. Respondents' preference for coresidence was dichotomized into 0 = not ideal and 1 = ideal.

Parent-Child Relationship

Parent–child relationship included closeness with the child (quality of the relationship) and quarrels in the past 12 months.

Closeness was measured with a question asking about the quality of the parent–child relationship. Fewer than 5% of parents responded that the relationship with their most-contacted adult child was "very bad," "bad," or "so–so." Thus, those three categories were collapsed and recoded as "not good." Closeness of the relationship with

the most-contacted child included: 1 = not good, 2 = good, and 3 = very good.

Conflict was measured with the question, "Did you have quarrels with your most-contacted adult child in the last 12 months?: 1 = very frequently, 2 = frequently, 3 = sometimes, 4 = seldom, 5 = not at all." As fewer than 2% of the responses fell under the first two categories, they were collapsed and merged with the third category. Thus, conflict included three categories after reversing the order: 1 = not at all, 2 = seldom, and 3 = sometimes/often.

Data were missing when identifying information on the parent–child relationship. Some of the most-contacted adult children could not be identified as to their gender (4.3%), their distance from the parent respondent (9.8%), the quality of the relationship between the parent and the child (2.7%), whether there were quarrels in the past 12 months (2.4%), and the support given and received (4.6%~7.7%). As a result, only 870 of the 1,058 parent respondents showed no missing data across all variables.

Results

In this section, I first present the descriptive statistics of the sample in Table 3.2. I then detail logistic regression results predicting the effect of intergenerational support, endorsement of norms, and the parent–child relationship on parents' life satisfaction in Table 3.3.

As presented in Table 3.2, 69% of parents reported that they were satisfied with life (60% of parents aged less than 60 years and 40% aged over 60). On average, parents had

Table 3.2 Variables' Mean for Logistic Regressions on Old Parents' Well-Being

Variables	*Mean*	*SD*	*Coding*
Parents' life satisfaction	0.69	0.46	0=not satisfied, 1=satisfied
Socio-demographic features			
Age group	0.4	0.49	0 50≤age<60, 1 60≤age≤70
Education	6.29	4.3	in years, 0-23
Perceived relative family income	0.28	0.45	0=lower, 1=middle and upper.
Self-rated health	0.61	0.49	0=not good, 1=good.
Marital status,	0.9	0.3	0=unmarried, 1=married
Region	0.36	0.48	0=urban, 1=rural.
Exchange of support			
Giving financial support	1.78	0.72	1=not at all, 2=sometimes, 3=often
Giving instrumental support	2.1	0.74	1=not at all, 2=sometimes, 3=often
Giving emotional support	2.13	0.61	1=not at all, 2=sometimes, 3=often
Receiving financial support	2.04	0.68	1=not at all, 2=sometimes, 3=often
Receiving instrumental support	2.05	0.63	1=not at all, 2=sometimes, 3=often
Receiving emotional support	2.11	0.58	1=not at all, 2=sometimes, 3=often
Balance on frequency of financial support	-0.24	0.8	-1=net receiver, 0=balanced, 1=net provider
Balance on frequency of instrumental support	0.06	0.78	-1=net receiver, 0=balanced, 1=net provider
Balance on frequency of emotional support	0.05	0.66	-1=net receiver, 0=balanced, 1=net provider
Norms and preference			
Filial expectation	0.86	0.34	0=negative endorse, 1=positive endorse score on 4 statements on filial responsibility by married adult children (-12, 12)
Patriarchy	0.81	0.4	0=negative endorse, 1=positive endorse score on 5 statements on patriarchy (-15, 15)
Preference of multi-generational coresidence	.65	.48	0=not ideal, 1=ideal
Parent-child relationship			
Gender of the parent	0.53	0.5	0=male, 1=female
Gender of the most contacted child	0.37	0.48	0=male, 1=female
Proximity with the most contacted child	0.89	0.83	0=coreside, 1=within 30 min of car with child, 2=beyond 30 min of car with child
Closeness with most contacted child	2.38	0.57	1=not good, 2=good, 3=very good.
Quarrel with child in the past year	1.85	0.7	1=not at all, 2=seldom, 3=sometimes and often

Table 3.3 Logistic Regression Results Predicting the Effect of Intergenerational Support Exchanges, Parent-Child Relationship, Filial Norms and Preference on Parents' Well-Being (*N*=870)

	Giving Support				Receiving Support				Balance of Support			
	G1	G2	G3	G4	R1	R2	R3	R4	B1	B2	B3	B4
Socio-Demographic Controls												
60≤Age＜70	0.328+	0.312+	0.444*	0.426*	0.314+	0.294+	0.420*	0.398*	0.335+	0.313+	0.452*	0.427*
Education (in years)	0.064**	0.071**	0.063**	0.070**	0.066**	0.073***	0.066**	0.072**	0.070**	0.077***	0.069**	0.075***
Perceived Middle and Upper Family	1.069***	1.105***	1.093***	1.126***	1.066***	1.108***	1.090***	1.127***	1.055***	1.096***	1.084***	1.120***
Self-Rated Health (good)	0.766***	0.803***	0.710***	0.748***	0.808***	0.852***	0.751***	0.796***	0.815***	0.849***	0.751***	0.785***
Marital Status (married)	-0.007	-0.008	0.034	0.036	0.017	0.023	0.058	0.068	-0.055	-0.059	-0.02	-0.023
Region (rural)	0.798***	0.763***	0.806***	0.777***	0.769***	0.744***	0.772***	0.753***	0.825***	0.788***	0.831***	0.801***
Gender of Parent (female)	-0.301+	-0.295+	-0.292+	-0.285+	-0.300+	-0.296+	-0.289+	-0.287+	-0.322*	-0.308+	-0.313+	-0.301+
Gender of Adult Child (female)	0.075	0.074	0.067	0.067	0.106	0.1	0.097	0.092	0.05	0.045	0.047	0.044
Within 30 Min of Car with Child	0.163	0.276	0.138	0.246	0.217	0.322	0.18	0.278	0.179	0.275	0.144	0.232
Beyond 30 Min of Car with Child	-0.203	-0.117	-0.216	-0.132	-0.108	-0.017	-0.141	-0.054	-0.147	-0.07	-0.171	-0.101
Intergenerational Exchange of Support												
Sometimes Give Financial Support	-0.227	-0.188	-0.201	-0.159								
Often Give Financial Support	-0.181	-0.137	-0.133	-0.091								
Sometimes Give Instrumental Support	-0.362	-0.428+	-0.387	-0.447+								
Often Give Instrumental Support	-0.436	-0.482+	-0.445	-0.488+								
Sometimes Give Emotional Support	0.46	0.533+	0.544+	0.614*								
Often Give Emotional Support	0.524	0.621+	0.611+	0.706*								
Sometimes Receive Financial Support					0.296	0.323	0.335	0.362+				
Often Receive Financial Support					0.492+	0.533*	0.512*	0.556*				
Sometimes Receive Instrumental Support					-0.301	-0.355	-0.328	-0.371				
Often Receive Instrumental Support					-0.188	-0.223	-0.233	-0.26				
Sometimes Receive Emotional Support					-0.245	-0.154	-0.205	-0.127				
Often Receive Emotional Support					-0.101	0.012	-0.046	0.055				

Table 3.3 Continued

	Giving Support				Receiving Support				Balance of Support			
	G1	G2	G3	G4	R1	R2	R3	R4	B1	B2	B3	B4
Net Giver of Financial Support									-0.125	-0.113	-0.095	-0.088
Balanced on Financial Support									-0.341+	-0.351+	-0.293	-0.3
Balanced on Instrumental Support									-0.257	-0.243	-0.226	-0.211
Net Giver of Instrumental Support									-0.226	-0.238	-0.191	-0.202
Balanced on Emotional Support									0.417+	0.375+	0.459*	0.420+
Net Giver of Emotional Support									0.362	0.342	0.411	0.391
Norms and Preference												
Filial Expectation		-0.423+		-0.408+		-0.476*		-0.465+		-0.388		-0.377
Patriarchy		-0.468*		-0.438*		-0.496*		-0.464*		-0.465*		-0.427*
Preference for Coresidence		0.410*		0.380*		0.353*		0.317+		0.379*		0.339+
Parent-Child Relationship												
Good Relationship with Child			1.190**	1.153**			1.166**	1.120**			1.147**	1.094**
Very Good Relationship with Child			0.991**	0.956*			0.961*	0.919*			0.979**	0.933*
Seldom Quarrel with Child			-0.358+	-0.369*			-0.340+	-0.348+			-0.378*	-0.378*
Sometimes and Often Quarrel with Child			-0.553*	-0.509*			-0.559*	-0.522*			-0.540*	-0.494*
Constant	-0.515	-0.189	-1.406*	-1.069	-0.511	-0.105	-1.331*	-0.894	-0.578	-0.178	-1.424*	-0.995
LR Chi2	100.978	113.694	117.243	128.239	102.788	115.513	118.711	129.688	102.275	113.864	117.679	127.279
Pseudo R^2	0.0934	0.1052	0.1085	0.1186	0.0951	0.1069	0.1098	0.12	0.0946	0.1053	0.1089	0.1178

+ $p<0.10$, * $p<0.05$, ** $p<0.01$, *** $p<0.001$

Note: G1=Model predicting giving support with demographic controls and exchange of support;

G2= Model predicting giving support with demographic controls, exchange of support, and norms and preference.

G3=Model predicting giving support with demographic controls, exchange of support, and parent-child relationship.

G4=Model predicting giving support with demographic controls, exchange of support., norms and preference, and parent-child relationship.

R1=Model predicting receiving support with demographic controls and exchange of support.

Table 3.3 Continued

R2= Model predicting receiving support with demographic controls, exchange of support, and norms and preference.

R3=Model predicting receiving support with demographic controls, exchange of support, and parent-child relationship.

R4=Model predicting receiving support with demographic controls, exchange of support., norms and preference, and parent-child relationship.

B1=Model predicting balance of support with demographic controls and exchange of support.

B2= Model predicting balance of support with demographic controls, exchange of support, and norms and preference.

B3=Model predicting balance of support with demographic controls, exchange of support, and parent-child relationship.

B4=Model predicting balance of support with demographic controls, exchange of support., norms and preference, and parent-child relationship.

received about 6.3 years of education. Sixty-one percent of them thought that they enjoyed good health. The majority of them (90%) were married. Seventy-two percent were from families of lower income, and 65% came from urban areas.

As to intergenerational exchange of support, on average, parents gave less-frequent financial support to their adult children than they received from their adult children, whereas the frequencies of their giving and of their receiving of instrumental support were about the same level and the frequencies of their giving and receiving of emotional support were also about the same level. Therefore, on average, parents were net receivers of financial support and quite balanced on household support and emotional exchange with children.

Turning to parents' endorsement of filial norms and preference, the dichotomized scores suggest that over 80% of parents tended to agree with both filial expectation and the patriarchy tradition, and about 65% of respondents thought that multigenerational coresidence was ideal for them.

With regard to the parent–child relationship, 53% of respondents were mothers, and 63% of the most-contacted adult children were sons, which mirrors the tradition that sons should take care of their older parents. A majority of older parents lived within 30 min' driving distance from their most-contacted adult children, highlighting that aging care in China was largely the children's responsibility. Generally, parents maintained good relationships with their most-contacted children and seldom had quarrels with their most-contacted children in the year before the survey. In other words, a majority of older

parents and their adult children fit in the "tight-knit" family in Bengston's (2001) typology of intergenerational relationships.

Models displayed in Table 3.3 examine separately the effects of giving support, of receiving support, and of balance of support on parents' life satisfaction. In the table, G1–G4 show how *giving support* changes in its predictability on life satisfaction. Model G1 is the basic model; norms and preference are added in G2, closeness and conflict in the parent–child relationship are added in G3, and both norms and preference and the parent–child relationship are added in the overall G4. Similarly, R1–R4 show effects of *receiving support* and B1–B4 show effects of *balance of support*. To answer Q1 and test H1, I compare the basic models (G1, R1, and B1) to the overall models (G4, R4, and B4), exploring the changes in coefficients of giving support, receiving support, and balance of support. To answer Q2 and test H2 and H3, I examined the effects of norms and preference, and of the parent–child relationship, respectively.

In G1, none of the three types of support given by parents exerted predictive power on parents' life satisfaction. With both norms and preference and parent–child relationship added, G4 shows that the effect of giving emotional support became significantly positive, the effect of instrumental support changed to marginally significant negative, while the effect of giving financial support remained insignificant. R1 shows that none of the three types of support received was significant, except for the marginally significant positive effect of often receiving financial support. Then, in the overall R4, receiving financial support upgraded to be significantly positive. Among the three

balances of support, the balance of emotional support exerted marginally significant power on parent's life satisfaction in both B1 and B4. The marginally significant negative effect of balance of financial support in B1 disappeared in the overall B4 when adding norms, preference, and parent–child relationship.

Hypothesis One was partially supported. As expected, receiving financial support generated a significantly positive effect. Providing emotional support also contributed to older parents' life satisfaction, net of impacts from norms and preference, and parent–child relationship; however, giving financial support exerted neither positive nor negative impact on life satisfaction. One tentative explanation would be that the positive and negative impacts of giving financial support reconciled and neutralized. For instance, giving financial support fits the patriarchy tradition and contributes to parent–child relationships when parents give money to younger generations in small red envelopes in celebration of the spring festival and on special family occasions. Giving emotional support was confirmed to be effective in promoting well-being, while giving instrumental support marginally undermined older parent's well-being.

To test H2 and H3, I explored how endorsement of norms and preference or/and parent–child relationship would interfere with the link between the three measures of support and life satisfaction. In the following, I compare the basic models (G1, R1, and B1) with the additive models (G2, G3, R2, R3, B2, and B3) and the overall models (G4, R4, and B4).

Norms and preference displayed significant predictive power on parents' life

satisfaction in models G2, R2, and B2. Life satisfaction was negatively predicted by filial expectation and patriarchy, but positively predicted by preference for coresidence. In the overall models G4, R4 and B4, filial expectation and preference for coresidence declined slightly in their predictive power, while endorsement of patriarchy remained strongly predictive. Thus, H2 was largely supported. This finding is contrary to Chen and Silverstein's conclusion (2000) that parents' endorsement of traditional norms ("having sons makes one's old age secure") faded away in its main effect on well-being when controlling for parents' overall satisfaction with children. The difference in conclusions may be attributed to the different measures of norms, or the possibility that parents' satisfaction with children had already incorporated the information conveyed in the statement, "having sons makes one's old age secure."

As to the impact of the parent–child relationship, both closeness to and conflict with the most-contacted adult child showed consistently significant predictive power for parents' life satisfaction across all models. A close relationship gave rise to more satisfied life, while frequent quarrels generated life dissatisfaction. Thus, H3 was confirmed.

A further question would be whether endorsement of norms, preference of coresidence, closeness, and conflict have mediated/moderated the effect of support on life satisfaction. To test possible moderating effects on support, interactions were added to corresponding models (not shown here). For the mediation test, as Sobel-Goodman tests could not be applied to categorical/continuous predictors and dichotomous outcomes, binary mediation tests were applied in additive models following the

processes recommended by Kenny and Herr (2010) and Preacher and Hayes (2008); however, the results of above tests showed there were no moderating or mediating effects.

As to the effect of sociodemographic features, all models consistently revealed that the parents who were more likely to enjoy life satisfaction were those who aged 60+, those who received more education, those from families with middle and higher income, those who reported good self-rated health, and those from rural areas.

Likelihood-ratio tests between the basic models, the additive models, and the overall models were performed along the way each time new factors were added, presenting *p* values less than 0.05 for all pairs of models (not shown here). Therefore, these tests strongly supported the following conclusions: (a) adding endorsement of norms and preference or/and parent–child relationship significantly improved the model's predictability compared to the basic models, and (b) the overall models with both endorsement of norms and parent–child relationship significantly improved the predictability of additive models with only one of them.

Discussion

In this study, I examined the impact of intergenerational support, familial norms and preference, and the parent–child relationship on Chinese older parents' well-being. Four hierarchical logistical regression models were run by progressively adding endorsement of norms and preference and the parent–child relationship to basic models predicting the

effect of intergenerational support on parents' well-being. Closeness and conflict in patent–child relationships were found to exert the most profound impact on parents' well-being. Filial expectation, endorsement of patriarchy, and preference for coresidence also played significant roles when assessing the effects of exchange of support on old parents' well-being. Norms' effects on support were relative net of that of the parent–child relationship.

With respect to the effect of financial support on parents' well-being, giving financial support did not predict well-being, whereas receiving financial support contributed to parents' well-being. Frequent financial support from adult children was not only a sign of filial piety, contributing to better parent–child relationships, but more importantly, it satisfied the basic need of "security" for older parents, which, according to Lawton and Nahemow (1973), prioritizes the other two basic needs of "companionship and autonomy" in explaining how behaviors contribute to older people's psychological health.

The results do not support Chen and Silverstein's (2000) findings that parents' satisfaction with children fully mediates the benefits of receiving support on parents' well-being in China. The disagreement may be due to the difference in control variables and measurement of support and endorsement of norms. In Chen and Silverstein's analysis, older parents' need of financial support was controlled and remained significant across all of their models. Additionally, the intergenerational support exchange in their research was between the parent and all of his or her children, and the amount or

frequency of support given and received was not considered. Moreover, their measure of satisfaction with children was for overall satisfaction with all of the children. In contrast, all measures of support and both closeness and conflict within the parent–child relationship in the current study were targeted at the most-contacted adult child. Considering the support given to and received from the specific child is a more sophisticated approach in examining intergenerational support's effect on parents' well-being, as it recognizes the possible diverse types of relationship each child has set up individually with the parents in previous years, and consequently the varied impacts of those relationships on parents' well-being.

As expected, filial expectation and patriarchy tradition exerted strong negative impacts on parents' well-being. It is no wonder their impacts varied slightly when relating to different types of support, as filial expectation and patriarchy have been proven to generate varied impacts on intergenerational support exchange (see Chapter 2). Filial expectation and preference for coresidence both decline in their impacts when adding the parent–child relationship; thus, they are less proximate than endorsement of patriarchy and parent–child relationship on parents' well-being. The conclusions generate negative evidence to the argument that the effect of objective network characteristics on well-being could be mediated by subjective perceptions (Chen & Silverstein, 2000; George, 1990). In the current analysis, neither filial norms nor parent–child relationship mediated support's impact on older parents' well-being.

In this chapter, I directly explored the association between intergenerational support

and older parents' well-being within the Chinese context, and expanded the current empirical findings on this topic. In addition, the findings underscore the significance of familial norms in shaping the outlook of older parents as support givers and receivers. Parents adhering to traditional filial norms and patriarchy may feel disappointed or hold ambivalent feelings towards their adult children. Because of situational and structural restrictions brought about by social changes and economic developments in modern society (Lin & Yi, 2011), it might be difficult for their children to follow the tradition strictly, despite their continuous endorsement of filial responsibility (see Table 1.1 and the conclusion of Chapter 2). Ancient filial norms require that a son not travel far if he has older parents. In today's China, the reality for many rural parents is that their children have to work and live in cities far away. Therefore, parents should adjust their expectations to the new situation, especially for those who strongly endorse patriarchy.

Financial support and emotional exchange with adult children have been confirmed as to their utmost contribution among all types of support to older parents' well-being. A solid social security system should be helpful to decrease older parents' financial reliance on children and increase their well-being. How to promote the emotional connections between older parents and their adult children should not be neglected when developing an aging care system, especially among elders in rural areas.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I investigated the association between filial norms, intergenerational support, and older parents' well-being in the Chinese context. Chapter 2 empirically examined the association between filial expectation and patriarchy expressed by older parents and the support they gave and received. Results showed that a positive association exists between filial norms and the support given and received, but the association varied for the two sets of norms considered. Mediation and moderation analysis further suggested that closeness and conflict within the parent–child relationship both mediated and moderated norms' impact on different types of support. This chapter presented one of a few empirical analyses testing the positive association between filial norms by older parents and the support they exchange with their most-contacted adult children. The analysis also pointed out the linkage between the filial norms and the decline in traditional informal support, and the continuity of financial and emotional support to aging parents.

In Chapter 3, I went further, investigating how support exchange, along with filial

norms and the parent–child relationship, would affect older parents' well-being. I focused on how filial norms and the parent–child relationship interfered with the effect of support on well-being. The results suggest that the effect of support on well-being vary across types of support. Notably, giving emotional support and receiving financial support proved to contribute significantly to older parents' well-being. Both filial norms and the parent–child relationship significantly affected older parents' well-being, yet neither of them was found to exert mediating or moderating impacts on the association between support and well-being.

Several themes emerged from the findings in this dissertation. The first is the double-sword functions of filial norms; that is, social capital and social control on intergenerational relationships. The function of social capital manifested itself fully as it significantly predicted support given and received by older parents: the stronger the endorsement of filial norms, the more support given and received. In other words, those parents who more strongly endorse filial norms are considered to have higher social capital than those who endorse less. On the other hand, the function of social control demonstrated salient negative impacts on older parents' well-being: the stronger the endorsement of filial norms, the lower the well-being of elderly parents. Therefore, in contemporary China, the comprehensive picture is that older parents with higher traditional filial expectation do get more support from their children, yet the positive effect of more support received is not enough to neutralize the negative effect of higher expectation. This is not to say that there is no benefit generated by strong endorsement,

but rather that strong filial expectation expressed by parents contributes to smoothing the parent–child relationship instead of directly benefiting the parents' well-being. Strong endorsement of patriarchy proves to undermine closeness and generate conflicts in parent–child relationships, and it negatively affects older parents' well-being.

The second theme lies in the interlinkage between dimensions of Bengtson's paradigm. Filial norms, the parent–child relationship, and intergenerational support exchange have been proven to be closely linked dimensions in the paradigm. Conflict is negatively linked to well-being, net of the positive impact from closeness in the parent–child relationship. The interlinkage between filial norms, support, and the parent–child relationship on well-being provides mixed evidence to the viewpoint that the effects of objective network characteristics on well-being are mediated by subjective perceptions (George, 1990; Kahana et al., 1995). Supportive evidence is that filial norms, closeness, and conflicts between generations consistently exert predictive power over elderly parents' well-being. Refuting evidence is that the mediating effects by norms and the parent–child relationship have not been found. Among all of the subjective perceptions influencing older parents' well-being, the need for financial security, affection, and patriarchy are most salient, and could not be reconciled or deducted to a more proximate factor of well-being. The three factors coincide with the three basic needs in Lawton and Nahemow's life spaces model for older people's activities: "security, companionship, and autonomy" (Lawton, 1989; Lawton & Nahemow, 1973). Lawton also proposed that, in a mismatch of basic needs, personal competence, and environmental press, there will

be negative effects and maladaptive behaviors on the older person (Atchley, 1999; Lawton, 1989; Lawton & Nahemow, 1973). Thus, further exploration between the objective networks and subjective experience of older parents is warranted, which is especially important for outlining aging policies.

China is traditionally known for the strength of its citizens' adherence to filial norms. There is growing concern that filial norms have been eroded within this transitional society. With smaller families and most adult children benefiting from better opportunities in cities, certain aspects of filial norms are likely to change if they are no longer able to guide intergenerational relations (Lee & Hong-Kin, 2005). Evidence indicates that dissimilarity in norms and values plays a salient role in estrangement between parents and adult children (Gilligan et al., 2015), which could be a source of intergenerational conflict and therefore undermine older parents' well-being. Thus, filial norms have ample policy implications and should be prioritized when designing aging-care policies, especially accommodating those parents who do not live with their adult children.

Limitations should be noted so as to carefully apply and generalize the findings. First, findings are based on the cross-sectional CGSS 2006 (2009), and there is no way to predict the causal direction among covariate factors. Also, those parent respondents included in the current study were relatively young, as their average age was slightly below 60 years, which is not typically considered to be "old age." Additionally, the analysis was based only on the reports from parents in the parent–child relationship. In

order to capture the complexity of intergenerational relationships, researchers should also consider the viewpoints of the children, when possible. Large-scale longitudinal data on families, with reports from both parents and adult children, are necessary if scholars want to examine how norms change at different life stages.

The family survey asked questions on "your" support to/from the most-contacted adult child. Although it is more clearly expressed in Chinese ("你的") than in English, it is impossible to dispel the possibility that some parent respondents might have misunderstood it as support exchange between the parent couple and the adult child, or between the adult child couple and the parent, or between the adult child couple and the older parent couple. Additionally, sometimes it was difficult to identify whether the financial support to adult children was from the father, the mother, or the parent couple jointly.

The CGSS 2006 (2009) are cross-sectional data and present only a static picture of family relations. The causal relationship among norms, relationship, support, and parents' well-being are assumed to be unidirectional. The dynamic correlation among them could be modelled only with longitudinal datasets.

APPENDIX A

OLS AND ORDINAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION PREDICTING

SUPPORT BY PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP

	Total Support Received	Total Support Given
Good Relationship	0.708+	-0.495
Very Good Relationship	1.236**	-0.234
	Financial Support Received	Financial Support Given
Good Relationship	0.187	-0.117
Very Good Relationship	0.214	-0.138
	Instrumental Support	Instrumental Support
Good Relationship	0.961**	-0.196
Very Good Relationship	1.300***	-0.216
	Emotional Support Received	Emotional support Given
Good Relationship	0.299	-0.362
Very Good Relationship	1.018**	0.19
	Parent-child Relationship	
Filial	0.053	
Patriarchy (standardized)	0.053	

APPENDIX B

OLS AND ORDINAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION PREDICTING

SUPPORT BY PARENT-CHILD QUARREL

	Total Support Received	Total Support Given
Seldom Quarrel with Child	0.265	0.497**
Sometimes and Often Quarrel with	0.335	0.465+
	Financial Support	Financial Support
Seldom Quarrel with Child	-0.001	0.352*
Sometimes and Often Quarrel with	0.165	0.502**
	Instrumental Support	Instrumental Support
Seldom Quarrel with Child	0.272+	0.201
Sometimes and Often Quarrel with	0.452*	0.247
	Emotional Support	Emotional support
Seldom Quarrel with Child	0.192	0.274+
Sometimes and Often Quarrel with	-0.073	-0.078
	Parent-child Quarrel	
Filial Expectation(standardized)	-0.181*	
Patriarchy(standardized)	0.26**	

APPENDIX C

ITEMS MEASURING FILIAL EXPECTATION OF OLD PARENTS BY LEE

Items listed in Lee's study measuring filial expectation of old parents. The six items and their factor loadings are: 1 As many activities as possible should be shared by grown children and their parents (.554); 2 If children live nearby after they grow up, they should visit their parents at least once a week (.630); 3 Grown married children should live close to their parents so that they can help each other (.549); 4 A family should be willing to sacrifice some of the things they want for their children in order to help support their aging parents (.652); 5 Older people should be able to depend upon their grown children to help them do the things they need to do (.593); 6 Parents are entitled to some return for the sacrifices they have made for their children (.578).

The items were administered in a Likert-type format with four response options ranging from 1) strongly disagree, 2) disagree, 3) agree, 4) strongly agree so that high scores represent high expectations, and summed to create an index ranging from 6 to 24, average at 15.68.

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